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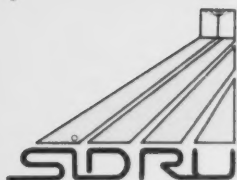
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ABSTRACT

This document reports on a project whose goals were:
(1) to define what is meant by cultural literacy and/or social and
cultural literacy; (2) to provide examples of the skills, values,
processes, knowledge, and cognitive abilities associated with
cultural literacy; and (3) to suggest how cultural literacy may be
fitted into the new core curriculum of Saskatchewan as a Common
Essential Learning or in some other appropriate form. In order to
achieve these goals the relevant literature in each of the following
areas is reviewed: (1) cultural literacy; (2) the impact of culture
on education; and (3) "what works." Substantial reference lists are
included at the end of each of the sections. (DB)

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CULTURAL LITERACY IN EDUCATION: A Literature Review

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April 1987

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CULTURAL LITERACY IN EDUCATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Prepared for the
Saskatchewan Instructional Development
and
Research Unit

With Funding from the
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by
Allan S. Melenchuk, M.Ed.
April 1987

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CHAPTER 1

CULTURAL LITERACY

Project Purpose

As presented in the Program Policy Proposals, the Common Essential Learnings do not address the concept of culture nor the issues of relationships between and among groups. The research done to date on "Personal and Social Skills and Values" concentrates on values and the individual and does not address social or cultural issues in sufficient depth. Little attention is paid to the individual as a member of a group. Certain group or cultural values are not adequately reflected in the CEL's. Hence there is a need to include additional learnings for those students who belong to a different cultural group, and to heighten awareness for all students of the differing values which are espoused by various groups within our society. The purpose of this project is to define what is meant by "Cultural Literacy" and/or "Social and Cultural Literacy", provide examples of the skills, values, processes, knowledge and cognitive abilities associated with "Cultural Literacy" and suggest how "Cultural Literacy" may be fitted into the new core curriculum as a CEL or in some other appropriate form.

In order to understand the concept of cultural literacy, as defined by various authors, it is necessary to look first at the nature of culture, its relationship to literacy, the changing meaning of literacy over time and the historical development of

literacy education.

The Nature of Culture and its Relationship to Literacy

There have been numerous definitions of the term culture. Various scholars have attempted to define this term from the Vedic days in about 1500 B.C. up to today. These definitions have been descriptive, historical, philosophical, psychological and normative. In order to understand the nature of the term culture we must first be aware that each of us considers ourself to be a unique individual with a particular set of preferences, opinions, habits and idiosyncrasies. Indeed, all of us are unique individuals and yet we all share a vast array of beliefs, feelings and habits with other members of our society. The many characteristics which we share, of which many of us are unconscious, constitute what many anthropologists refer to as our culture. Everybody has needs. As human beings we have needs for such things as food, water, shelter, respect, friendship, love, self-esteem, and ultimately self-actualization. The manner in which we satisfy such basic human needs is determined by our culture. All the people of a particular cultural group tend to satisfy their needs in more or less similar ways which they have learned.

Knowledge about culture and all its aspects is important in gaining an understanding of what the similarities and differences between cultures mean and how they contribute to the successful meeting of the needs on the part of members of different cultural groups. It is also important to understand that culture is

deeply rooted in history and customs and that it changes slowly. Thus, when some cultural groups are thrown into a situation in which their particular approach to meeting their needs is no longer successful, they experience serious problems. Usually they are judged by other cultural groups as being inferior and are not given adequate time or resources to make the necessary adjustments. These changes have to be incorporated into their own culture before they can become more successful in their efforts to cope with a new situation.

Culture because of its very nature, changes slowly and with some difficulty. Almost everything that we learn while growing up and living within a certain cultural community or society becomes a part of our individual culture or our personality. Sherif pointed out as long ago as 1935 that "Social psychology has studied individual differences in response to a social environment, but it has never recognized that each one of us perceives this environment in terms of his own personal habits of perceiving; and that cultural groups may differ from one another in behavior, because of fundamental differences in the ways of perceiving social situations" (Hallowell, 1972, pp.49-50).

Rich & Ogawa (1972, p.24) defined culture as the "sum total of the learned behaviors of a group of people which are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation." The definition is basically the same as that given by Sitaram (1970). Rivers (1981) wrote of culture as all aspects of shared life in a community. Seelye (1976) generalized even further: culture is simply everything

that people learn to do.

Barnouw (1979) defined culture as:

the way of life of a group of people, the configuration of all of the more or less stereotyped patterns of learned behavior which are handed down from one generation to the next through the means of language and imitation. (p.5)

Barnouw (1979, p.5) also quoted E.B. Taylor, the father of cultural anthropology, who defined culture as: "that complex which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities or habits acquired by man as members of a society."

The word culture then refers to the entire way of life of a people. Pusch (1981, p.3) stated that it is the sum total of ways of living that includes such things as beliefs, values, aesthetic standards, linguistic expression, patterns of cognition, behavioral norms, styles of communication, and institutions. It also includes concrete material objects such as tools, toys, weapons, housing, and places of work, worship, and government. All of these have been developed by a group of people to assure its survival in a particular physical and human environment. Culture and the people who are a part of it interact, so that culture is not static. Even though cultural traits may undergo changes they are still passed from one generation to another. Culture is the response of a group of human beings to the valid and particular needs of its members.

Samovar et al. (1981) also identified the nature of culture and its connection to communication:

Culture is the deposit of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, timing, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a large group in the course of generations through individual or group striving. Culture manifests itself in patterns of language and in forms of activity and behavior that act as models for both the common adaptive acts and the styles of communication that enable people to live in a society within a given geographic environment at a given state of technical development at a particular moment in time. Culture also specifies and is defined by the nature of material things that play an essential role in the common life. Such things as houses, instruments and machines used in industry and agriculture, forms of transportation, and instruments of war provide a material foundation for social life. Culture is persistent, enduring, and omnipresent; it includes all of the behavioral reinforcements received during the course of a lifetime. Culture also dictates the form and structure of our physical realm, and it encompasses and specifies the social environment permeating our lives. The effect of culture on our lives is largely unrealized by individuals. (p.31)

Samovar et al. used an analogy with electronic computers to explain the influence of culture. Just as we program computers to do what they do, our culture to a great extent programs us to do what we do and to be what we are. Our culture affects us in a deterministic manner from conception to death. Samovar et al. explained a key relationship between culture and literacy which is central to an understanding of "cultural literacy". Culture and communication are inseparable because culture not only dictates who talks with whom, about what, and how the communication proceeds, it also helps to determine how people encode messages, the meanings they have for messages, and the conditions and circumstances under which various messages may or may not be sent, noticed, or interpreted. In fact, our entire repertoire of communication behaviors is dependent largely on the

culture in which we have been raised. Culture, consequently, is the foundation of communication. And, when cultures vary, communication practises also vary.

Inherent in these definitions of culture is the concept of the importance of communication in its various forms, including language and the ways in which it is transmitted, to the passage of culture from one generation to another.

The task of defining the "one best" way of conceptualizing literacy is a difficult one. Conflicts and contradictions are intrinsic in such an approach. Scribner (1984) noted the link between culture and literacy:

Most efforts at definitional determination are based on a conception of literacy as an attribute of individuals; they aim to describe constituents of literacy in terms of individual abilities. But the single most compelling fact about literacy is that it is a social achievement; individuals in society without writing systems do not become literate. Literacy is an outcome of cultural transmission; the individual child or adult does not extract the meaning of written symbols through personal interaction with the physical objects that embody them. Literacy abilities are acquired by individuals only in the course of participation in socially organized activities with written language.
(p.7)

Scribner indicated that individual literacy is relative to social literacy. Scribner & Cole (1981) also provided a theoretical analysis of literacy as a set of socially organized practices. Miller (1983) maintained that, among other functions, literacy involves learning how to act in social situations for social purposes. Each definition of literacy encountered displayed either implicit or explicit assumptions about the purpose of literacy. However, whatever meaning of literacy one assumes, it

is implicitly and/or explicitly connected to social control. Control over access to literacy represents political and economic power. For example, Durmont & Wax (1971) indicated that the reaction of Cherokee American Indian children in reservation schools to attempts to bring them "literacy" often took the form of quiet unresponsiveness. This reaction was characterized as a reaction to the imposition of white cultural priorities that displace the children's own cultural heritage. Since social literacy practices vary in time (Resnick, 1983) and space (Goody, 1968), what qualifies as individual literacy varies with them. Flewelling (1985) stated that:

Culture cannot be separated from language itself. It is present in all aspects of language - the spoken word, the written word, even in body language. People can learn perfectly the grammar and vocabulary of a language; yet, if they do not grasp the cultural aspects of the language they make embarrassing cultural faux pas. (p.18)

Graff (1984) stated that, while literacy and language are obviously related, literacy - as the ability to read and write, to decode and manipulate the component parts of a written language - is not synonymous with language or with language attitudes and language practices. He indicated that language attitudes and practices are, however, related to and may even be dependent upon literacy, but to employ them as a concept and definition of literacy is both risky and unwarranted. Language attitudes and practices cannot be reduced to literacy and an immediate consequence of such a reduction is the inability to distinguish literacy from the other determinants and correlates

of language use. He stated:

As recent linguistic writing stresses, literacy is only one aspect of language shaping, conditioning, and practice. Language relates to oral culture and media, to take one major example, in ways that are at least partially independent of literacy. In fact, we know too little about the exact relations of literacy to language attitudes and practices; this is itself a major area for future research and criticism. It is also distressing how very little we know about the different dimensions of language use (of which literacy is only one, albeit important, element). (p.56)

The Changing Meaning of Literacy

Conceptions of "literacy" and what it means to be a literate individual have varied considerably over time (Brandt, 1980; Resnick & Resnick, 1977). Many researchers have defined literacy in terms of the specific sub-skills that, taken together comprise the process of reading (Roth, 1984). Mastery of the skills has usually been determined by some type of competency standard such as a standardized achievement test score which has been applied to verify and evaluate literacy. Reading has been looked upon as a collection of disparate skills to be taught separately or as a thing in itself, a commodity, which teachers are to produce and verify through grade-level achievement test scores. However, such an approach usually disregarded the learner's experience.

Myers (1984) identified four different standards of literacy that have prevailed in current history, each one more demanding than the preceding one. They included the following: signature, recitation, comprehension and application. Each of these stages was initially applied to only a handful of individuals and eventually became almost universal in a later period. Also each

of the standards was affected by the nation's social structure and economy of the time.

The signature stage defined literacy as the limited ability to write one's name. Conversely, illiteracy or the inability to read and write was denoted as having to make a "sign" (X) on a legal document (Clifford, 1984). It was not until the mid 19th-century that the typical European in the more advanced countries could form the letters of his name (Brandt, 1980; Clanchy, 1983; Resnick & Resnick, 1977). Similarly, this ability was attained by the majority of Americans at about the same time (Schofield, 1968, 1981). The root cause of this standard of being able to read and write one's own name appeared to be the social need for some way of validating agreements in documents and public oaths.

The next standard of literacy was the recitation stage which defined literacy as attendance at school for at least a few years, the ability to sign one's name and the ability to recite from memory a Biblical passage or other selection announced ahead of time. This stage dated from approximately 1850 to 1900. The emphasis on recitation, memorization and morality in school materials took place at a time when a system of public education was being established. The purpose of education at the time was seen by some reformers as the preservation of the social order and for the purpose of schooling was the development of skills for the newly emerging industrial society (Field, 1876).

The comprehension stage, as characterized by the ability to read and understand unfamiliar materials, did not become the

standard of literacy in America until the advent of group tests (the Army Alpha tests) administered to army recruits during World War I (Resnick & Resnick, 1977). This standard was then applied in the 1950's to all students in America. Tyler (1977) indicated that the general population in America showed considerable increases on scores measuring comprehension of the literal meaning of unfamiliar materials during a fifty year period up until the Vietnam War. Tyler (1981) also indicated, on the basis of a common reading test given in fifteen nations, that nearly three-fourths of America's young people had attained a level of literacy that other nations only achieved with a very select group. This level of literacy, however, was deemed inadequate to meet the social needs of the fifties. Many Americans still had difficulty with written materials. The concept of the "functional illiterate" emerged when the Bureau of the Census used the term in 1947 to describe those who lacked at least five years of elementary school. Gray (1956) popularized the term when he offered the following definition of a functionally literate individual in a 1956 UNESCO publication:

One who has acquired the knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his culture or group. (p.24)

Functional illiteracy then was defined as the inability to read and write at a level required to function in society.

The application stage identified literacy as higher order skills that go beyond comprehension. Langer (1982) reported on

what was missing:

The National Assessment findings indicated that while students of all ages were able, by and large, to comprehend a wide range of passages, could form their own judgments about the work, and could make superficial literary references to such things as the character's motivations or behavior, they appeared, across all ages, to have difficulty examining, elaborating, or explaining their ideas. (p.338)

In other words, they showed little evidence of well-developed problem-solving strategies, inferential comprehension and analytic, logical and critical thinking skills.

Clifford (1984) has stated that literacy developed historically along three dimensions simultaneously:

(a) a heightening of qualitative standards of literacy to encompass higher order cognitive processes; (b) a broadening of the social and individual purposes that literacy is intended to serve; and (c) an extending of the literate from religious and scholarly elites to the whole population. (p.482)

Graff (1981) wrote:

The value of literacy for achieving fulfilling, productive, expanding, and participating lives of freedom in modern societies is undoubted and unquestioned. (p.1)

Both Clifford and Graff recognized the value and utility of literacy education as a social tool in promoting higher literacy standards leading to both individual and social development. It seems appropriate to include the concept of "cultural literacy" in the category of social tool and as a natural progression from the four stages identified by Myers (1984). Cultural literacy being identified here as those cognitions, attitudes and skills

necessary for an individual to become a functional and productive part of a multicultural society.

Duffey (1979) claimed that in addition to the concept of functional or basic literacy, there exists the concept of "social literacy" which recognizes that certain skills and capacities are necessary for one to become a part of society and which also enables one to transcend one's own heritage and gain some sense of oneself as a citizen of a global community. The purpose of literacy is to express and transmit more than technical information and insight; literacy has a purpose in expressing the interpretations of human experience.

Cultural Literacy as Defined in the Literature and Related Issues

The 1983 National Commission on Excellence in Education expressed concern over what was perceived as the declining rate of literacy of American youth. The Commission identified in its recommendations the following abilities of a literate individual.

(a) comprehend, interpret, evaluate, and use what they read; (b) write well organized, effective papers; (c) listen effectively and discuss ideas intelligently; and (d) know our literary heritage and how it enhances imagination and ethical understanding, and how it relates to the customs, ideas, and values of today's life and culture. (Edwards, 1984, p.71)

The last recommendation is the most interesting and potentially controversial. The suggestion "know our literary heritage" implies a return to traditional British-American literature. This is what E.D. Hirsch, Jr., has advocated. Hirsch (1984a) claimed that adult literacy is more than a condition of acquiring

a specific number of linguistic skills such as knowledge of phonics and numerous vocabulary words and the ability to decode simple readings perfectly. Adult literacy implies being culturally literate. Hirsch (1983) presented the case for the traditional curriculum in which he argued that the decline in the literacy level is causally related to the decline in commonly shared knowledge that one acquires in school. Hirsch (1984a) stated his case in the following manner:

Cultural literacy demands more than mere linguistic skills; it demands participation in and knowledge about a shared body of knowledge, a knowledge of the culture of the country. Knowledge of this body of ideas and history is assumed by writers of everything from training manuals to newspapers, yet many adults do not possess this knowledge. At present, teaching this information is not easy, because there is no national consensus on what the shared body of knowledge, the shared cultural background should contain. (p.1)

Hirsch (1985) indicated his belief that literacy improvement will not occur until schools at all levels accept their "responsibility" of culture making, set aside their unrestrained application of the doctrine of cultural pluralism and commit themselves to defining and teaching "cultural literacy". Hirsch also criticized the manner in which English is taught in the schools and recommended that English teachers place traditional content - the traditional canon - at the core of their curriculum. Hirsch (1983, p.165) stated that "without appropriate, tacitly shared background knowledge, people cannot understand newspapers. A certain extent of shared, canonical knowledge is inherently necessary to a literate democracy."

Hirsch (1984b) also contended that the current English curriculum is based on what he calls "educational formalism" or a culturally neutral skills approach which assumes that content is secondary. Formalism states that the purpose of teaching English is to teach students how to read and write for the sake of learning general skills for later use outside the school. Hirsch claimed that formalism has two attractions. The first is that it serves the ideal of practical efficiency and second that it is in concord with characteristic ideals of diversity and pluralism. (Spoerl, 1985) added the further point that the formalistic approach allowed English teachers to avoid value confrontations during the politically fraught 60s and 70s and enabled them to incorporate into their classes new materials representing previously disenfranchised populations.

Hirsch (1984b) further argued that the decline in nationally measured literacy scores was and is caused by increasing cultural fragmentation in curricula and in the loss of a common content core. In the past, Hirsch argued, schools successfully integrated disparate populations, their values, languages and histories. Schools formerly provided the melting pot in which the flavor of individual societies blended into a harmonious national character. He argued that pluralism now dominates the nation's educational process. In an attempt to placate special interest and minority groups, the humanities content of the school system has been fragmented with the result that no commonly defined national culture is taught. He challenged curricular pluralism and asserted that pluralism along with

formalistic approaches to humanities teaching have left students both ignorant and illiterate. It will, he claimed, if left unchecked, result in a national population that is unable to communicate among its differing interest and ethnic groups which will in turn retard political discussion and technical and economic effectiveness.

In order to deflect charges of cultural imperialism in his doctrine, Hirsch argued that educators have left more and more decision-making to local groups which have lost sight of the schools' need to teach a core of cultural literacy to all students. This core should be taught to all students regardless of their individual cultural heritages or their rejection of a prescribed common cultural core which reflects values and traditions at odds with their own. Hirsch argued that there simply needs to be a better balance between the concepts of unity and diversity, between pluralism and cultural literacy.

Hirsch (1981) cited his own research and that of Anderson et al. (1977) which showed that speed and accuracy of comprehension vary greatly with familiarity of content and that there is a complex connection between the acquisition of literacy and the content used to teach literacy. He stated that his research forced him to abandon his starting assumption that reading and writing are transferable, technical skills. He found that it was not possible to separate reading skills from the particular cultural information that the readers being tested possessed. He also cited the premise of Anderson that the way to improve our children's reading is to spend a lot less time teaching them how

to read. Hirsch (1981) stated:

What is written down or read typically takes for granted a great deal more information about the topic than the explicit surface features of language can possibly state. Teaching that emphasizes the linguistic and rhetorical features of writing is thus inherently incomplete. The manipulation of technical features - including rhetorical, audience-oriented features, carries so much hidden, unspoken information that the linguistic and rhetorical features themselves are the smaller part of the transaction. The larger part is the silent, cultural dimension, which consists of brute information, not technique." (p.7)

Hirsch also indicated that until recently the most sophisticated view of writing pedagogy has been that vocabulary should be considered only a minor element of instruction or as linguists say, vocabulary is merely a lexical matter, or something accidental to the permanent formal structure of language. Hirsch said that Anderson and others have shown, however, that the conventions and vocabularies of writing constitute a subtext that cannot be detached from the text or the vast domains of underlying cultural information. Also that an essential aspect of that information is knowledge about the world contained in knowledge of words. Information is not detachable from linguistic structure. This undetachability principle implies that one cannot do a good job of teaching reading and writing if one neglects, by concentrating on technique, the particular cultural vocabularies that one wishes to teach.

Hirsch's premise, if carried to its logical conclusion, would suggest a shared, heterogeneous national curriculum. However, he does not answer the vexing question of just who is to

determine the contents. He did mention the many difficulties - political, ethical and intellectual - of fashioning such a curriculum. He also conceded that the idea of a monolithic culture dictated by the schools runs against the sensibilities of most citizens. Yet, he contended that such a national approach need not necessarily be monolithic if its contents respected the tradition of encouraging independence, self-reliance and diversity. Thus, pluralism could be retained, cultural imperialism and monolithic indoctrination avoided and cultural literacy attained. Hirsch (1984b) contended that creating true cultural literacy will present problems:

But the answer to that is not to pretend that humanistic subjects in the schools ... are value free and culturally neutral. The answer is to recognize that if we face the danger of cultural imperialism, we should resist it not by a specious formalism, but by developing more heterogeneous values and traditions - a theme that has long been with us. (p.376)

Hirsch has indicated that true literacy isn't merely a matter of vocabulary, phonics or word recognition, but a matter of background knowledge enabling an individual to read general materials with understanding. Hirsch stated that research has shown that this background knowledge is a fundamental requirement for meaningful literacy. Hirsch (1984a) went further and ventured the following definition of the background information that an American citizen ought to have in order to be truly literate:

It is the background knowledge required to read serious American newspapers and magazines with

understanding. This knowledge would include not only political, and proverbial, and historical but also scientific information as part of the general background knowledge that I am calling "cultural literacy". (p.6)

Hirsch further claimed that background information of the sort that is needed for true literacy is neither detailed nor expert information, though it is accurate in its outlines. He also stated that the effective functioning of every modern nation depends upon a national literate culture associated with a national written language. Hirsch advocated the acculturative aspects of literacy teaching. Hirsch (1984a) further explained his concept of cultural literacy by stating that:

Raising the level of adult literacy beyond the elementary level is not just a matter of raising the level of linguistic skills. Adult literacy is less a system of skills than a system of information. What chiefly counts in higher reading competence is the amount of relevant prior knowledge that readers have. This is not a mere ideological sentiment on behalf of a shared national culture, but a firm empirical truth about literacy that coincides with more general findings about the importance of specific knowledge in the acquisition of all higher skills. (p.11)

An Expanded Definition of Cultural Literacy

Allen et al. (1980) provided an expanded definition of cultural literacy that recognized its multicultural implications:

Cultural literacy is defined as recognition or awareness of one's own culture or ethnicity and the development and utilization of skills and techniques to more adequately function in cross-cultural situations. (p.5)

The term "cultural literacy" was coined by Wilson and used originally in an article he wrote for Childhood Education,

published by The Association for Childhood Education International, in October, 1965. Wilson (1973), in developing a cultural literacy laboratory for multicultural teacher education, also provided a definition of cultural literacy:

Cultural literacy is defined as insight into one's own culture which includes some understanding of one's own frustration and tolerance levels and the ability to work effectively with people who are culturally different and to demonstrate the skills this requires. Cultural literacy is being aware of one's ethnicity and possessing the skills of cross-cultural communication. (p.1)

Wilson (1974) indicated that recognition of areas of cultural discontinuity and continuity provides the foundation for cultural literacy. He stated that while total continuity between two cultures is not desirable, a knowledge of the degree and range of the discrepancies between belief system components and cultural areas gives an indication of potential communication problems that have to be ameliorated to facilitate effective intercultural interaction. He also noted that insight into one's own culture is essential to an expansion of an individual's recognition of one's ethnicity and in effective communication in transcultural situations. Awareness of one's ethnicity will result in a heightened perception of one's impact on new environments with this also being a prerequisite to effective cross-cultural communication.

Wilson (1973) also indicated that the problem of working with culturally diverse children has been well documented in the literature dealing with culturally diverse populations. Educators, in particular, need to recognize that they are members

of a social group which has a culture. This culture is learned. Wilson noted that there may be a need to clarify the continuities and discontinuities between this culture and that of the culture within their classroom or school and among the learners they are trying to teach. He stated:

The data so far indicate that there is approximately 40% to 45% congruity between our own culture and target cultures of technological nations in the Western world. This means that more than half of the time the average person is working in a cultural vacuum not knowing what areas of culture he may be violating because of his lack of literacy in terms of cultural awareness. (p.31)

The individual needs to become aware of areas that may be sensitive or blind areas where he has to work to overcome or ameliorate problems of cross-cultural communication.

Wilson (1973) indicated the characteristics of a culturally literate person and educator. A culturally literate person is one who can:

- identify the major characteristics of his own culture;
- identify and use the skills of cross-cultural communication;
- identify some of the major values of his own and of a selected target culture;
- recognize social role expectations and conflicts and distinguish these from his own culture and selected target culture;
- identify areas of own culture and selected target culture which are similar and different;
- describe some of the historical and socio-cultural background of the selected target culture.

A culturally literate educator is one who can:

- relate the curriculum and instructional program to improve or maintain the self-concept of the culturally different learner by bridging cultural differences;

- identify and use curriculum and instruction materials and media which tend to minimize the cultural discontinuity between the culture of the learner and the school culture;
- prepare curriculum and instructional materials to develop meaningful cognitive and affective skills for culturally different learners;
- use multicultural resources available in the learner's population and environment;
- recognize his own limitations of teaching in a culture different from his own;
- develop useful home-school relations which result in minimal interference between home culture and school culture;
- relate comfortably with learners and other members of the target culture and provide opportunity for them to relate comfortably with him. (pp.27-28)

According to Wilson a culturally literate person is, therefore, one who can identify characteristics of his own culture or ethnicity with increased clarity and demonstrate the use of cross-cultural communication skills in a variety of culturally divergent situations.

Edwards (1984) raised some objections and questions about Hirsch's call for national leadership in recommending a core curriculum of literary works to reflect and transmit the nation's cultural heritage. Realistically, how much of a body of knowledge can people be expected to share? And how much is necessary to attain reasonably effective communication? However, she also indicated her belief that some shared knowledge would enhance people's ability to communicate with each other. She argued that a rigid, tradition-based book list may be too elitist, too exclusionary to have a widespread effect in improving national literacy. She felt that perhaps a more practical first goal for public schools would be a fairly modest one that simply raised the general level of literacy. Her major

point was that individuals will benefit from exposure to other cultures, at least if they expect to have further contact with these cultures. Literary exposure to other cultures not only familiarizes one with particular differences in custom or tradition but also, on a larger scale, shows differences in perspective, values, and philosophies. More importantly, one may come to see what is shared with the rest of humanity. Edwards stated the following concerning raising the national level of literacy:

I believe we can do so by increasing the amount of reading in the curriculum; by making reading accessible to more students - that is, choosing works many students can read without insurmountable difficulty - and by choosing works that represent a broad cultural heritage, not the heritage of any one people but rather of many. (p.72)

Bojar (1986) indicated that her experience with students' inability to make sense of a given literary piece, despite the fact that they are able to figure out the meanings of unfamiliar words and unravel intricacies in the selection, supports Hirsch's contention that they lack the necessary background information for real understanding. She stated:

My experience clearly supports Hirsch's contention that beyond the rudiments, skill in reading has little to do with abstract techniques, and everything to do with information. (p.3)

Bojar also strongly agreed with Hirsch's contention that the narrowly technical skills approach to literacy is inadequate and that it does matter what the student reads. It is important, she stated, to modify the now dominant educational principle that

holds that any suitable material of instruction can be used to teach the skills of reading and writing. She indicated that part of language skill is content skill and that, if reading with understanding involves command of information that the writer assumes the reader to have, then reading instruction should involve some systematic attempt to expand students' knowledge base. Students should have a solid command of basic history and geography and, as students expand their knowledge of the world, a schema for placing and storing new information.

Bertch (1984) noted that a general level of literacy gained through a variety of studies is essential to any education. In a rush to comply with students' utilitarian goals the real educational needs of students are often disregarded. She stated that students should be able to:

(1) develop their ability to think; (2) share a common cultural literacy; (3) defend themselves against slanted information; and (4) understand the tradition and ways of thought that have shaped and still drive their culture. (p.1)

Gross et al. (1984) also similarly stated:

Students who lack a shared cultural literacy will not function as critical thinkers, will not be able to defend themselves against slanted information, and will not understand the common skills and meaning in all disciplines of learning if they have no access to the traditions and ways of thought that have shaped and still drive that culture. (p.5)

Marty (1984) described the liberally educated person as one who has developed the practice of expanding and refining his ability to read, write, speak, and think and has cultivated the habit of reflection on the meaning of one's doings, customs, and

beliefs. He stated that this requires more than the time and inclination to do so. One has to have a certain body of knowledge as a touchstone to be able to develop the perspectives needed to respond appropriately to the cultural environment. Marty (1984, p.5) described this as "the knowledge and understanding that makes one a shareholder in a common culture."

Cortes (1978) indicated his belief that the future will demand culturally literate individuals. His rationale for a belief in multicultural education was that educational institutions exist to prepare young people for the future and the future will be in a culturally pluralistic nation and a rapidly shrinking world. Therefore, educators have an obligation to develop culturally literate citizens or individuals with a thorough understanding of culture and ethnicity in our society and in the world. He identified multicultural education as one of the educational basics that students need to develop greater proficiency in. The others identified were such obvious areas as reading, writing, mathematics, and technological literacy. As a basic, multicultural education must be a fundamental, continuous part of the entire school curriculum. Cortes identified some of the attributes of what he considered to be a multicultural person:

a young person with the multicultural competencies (knowledge, skills, and attitudes) for living with effectiveness, sensitivity, self-fulfillment, and understanding in a culturally pluralistic nation and increasingly independent world. (p.20)

Cortes also gave some examples of what multicultural skill,

attitude, and knowledge competencies educators should try to develop in students:

- (1) good self-concept and self-understanding;
- (2) sensitivity to and understanding of others, including those of various ethnic and cultural groups and nations;
- (3) the ability to perceive and understand multiple, sometimes conflicting, ethnic, cultural, and national interpretations of and perspectives on events, values, and behavior;
- (4) the ability to analyze and synthesize multicultural data;
- (5) the ability to make decisions and take effective action based on such analysis and synthesis;
- (6) open minds when addressing issues;
- (7) an understanding of the process of stereotyping and a low degree of stereotypical thinking;
- (8) pride in self and respect for all. (p.20)

These competencies and others would then serve as targets in the development of curriculum, in selecting materials, in organizing school activities and in designing evaluation procedures.

Cultural Literacy for Freedom

Bowers (1974), in his book Cultural Literacy for Freedom, commented extensively on the development of a curriculum for cultural literacy. He claimed that what is needed in the schools is the development of innovative curriculum materials that provide students with the opportunity to develop skills and awareness for decoding how his culture influences his existence and by extension how others are influenced differentially by their cultures. He identified a number of principles that should be used in designing curriculum materials for cultural literacy. The first principle, as the starting point in the learning process, would be to explore the interface between the student's

existential self and the social-cultural milieu. That is, the establishment of the connection between the part of the culture to be examined and the experience of the student.

The second principle in curriculum design would be the incorporation of the data derived from the phenomenology of the student into the curriculum. This would involve, through trial and error and some coaching, teaching the student to track and describe his own experience with a particular subconcept such as space or time. This would lead to the buildup of a body of data that could be used as a basis for extending the student's awareness and understanding of his culture's sense of the subconcept.

The third principle would involve the teacher helping the student to connect his own experience to the social and historical forces that have influenced that part of his cultural experience. The concrete application of this principle, for example, might lead to having the student study how social organization of a particular subconcept influences people. Bowers emphasized that the questions generated by the student must come from the data gathered through the student's own phenomenological description of the subconcept and not merely from textbook examples. He also stated that there must be an examination of the hidden cultural assumptions related to the subconcept by examining its historical roots and evolution over time. This would mean also investigating how the most rudimentary aspects of our world view influenced our cultural sense of the subconcept.

The fourth principle in designing a curriculum for cultural literacy would be to include a component dealing with another culture. This would be to provide a basis of comparison through a differential cross-cultural perspective. The purpose of a cross-cultural perspective would not be to encourage value judgments, but to provide a means of assisting students to understand another view of reality to thus be able to view his own in a broader frame of mind. In summary, Bowers advocated the inclusion of a phenomenological, a social-historical, and a cross-cultural component in any new curriculum. He also stated that the principles identified could be applied to all facets of our culture. Bowers (1974) identified a number of main integrative themes that could be used. They included: "property, technology, work, play, time, success, progress, environment, community, authority, consumerism, images of man, ways of knowing, and the sense of destiny" (p.121).

Educational reformers such as Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire have a wide and enthusiastic following among anti-establishment teachers and thinkers in the area of radical pedagogy. They include the authors Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux. Illich (1970) has made the most perceptive critique of public schools. He has argued that learning cannot take place in an institutional setting and that if learning is to be restored it is necessary to deschool society. The problem, as he sees it, is that we associate learning with teaching. He does admit, however, that under certain circumstances some learning may result from teaching. One of his basic premises is that most people acquire

their knowledge outside the confines of school through the informal process of dealing with the problems of their own existence. The second basic premise is that the institutional structure of the public school subordinates the student to the prevailing myths of the dominant culture in such a way that the student is controlled by them instead of being liberated. The student through a regiment of years of socialization in the schools internalizes the social values and perspectives on existence that are an implicit part of the public school atmosphere. Teaching within an institutional setting has a function, but he contends that it has little to do with advancing the well-being of or liberation of the individual. The process and the curriculum, while eroding the student's sense of self-reliance, sets the boundaries of the student's imagination and conditions the student to other forms of institutional planning. Essentially, what Illich has advocated is the substitution of informal learning networks for compulsory schooling that places on the individual the responsibility for his or her own education. This approach to education places a responsibility on the student that, because of their lack of experience and maturity, makes it unlikely that they will systematically examine the cultural assumptions and myths that shape their consciousness.

Freire's (1972) views of education are unique in that he is one of the few educational theorists who takes seriously the learner as an existential being. He makes a distinction between what he calls the educational praxis and banking concept of

education. The banking concept treats students as objects to be acted upon rather than as individuals capable of acting upon the world and posits a view of man as a passive receiver of information and an observer of a world that is already complete. Educational praxis involves the transformation of the individual as a person as well as a transformation of the world. In order for the student to change it is necessary that his or her consciousness be freed from the conditions that shape it. Freire believes that the teacher can facilitate the student's liberation through dialogue if it genuinely involves an encounter between open-minded individuals and a world view that is viewed in creative terms rather than as something that must be dominated and controlled. Vulliamy (1973) similarly stated:

The object is to make students think critically about their everyday assumptions (and about the assumptions their teachers make). It is only when we have developed such a questioning attitude that the students will become aware of the possibility of actually shaping their world, as opposed to being shaped by it. We can then create the potential for what Freire (1972) calls "education as a practise of freedom" - where we are developing in our students a permanently critical approach to reality. (p.528)

Giroux (1986), also see McLaren (1985), claimed that the dominant view of schooling prevalent in current practice is one in which schooling and curriculum generally argue for principles of learning that treat knowledge as something to be transmitted and consumed. Schools are seen as instructional sites that are designed to pass on "common" culture and sets of skills that will enable students to operate effectively in a wider society. This philosophy, as noted previously in this report, has its proponents

in authors like Hirsch. Giroux claimed that this philosophy does not equip students for the task of moral, intellectual, and political leadership nor does it provide them with the ability to become active, critical citizens. Giroux claimed that educational or curriculum theory is never ideologically neutral, but is always tied to a particular language, interests, and set of relations. In the foreward to Freire's book Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972), Richard Shaull wrote:

There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (p.15)

An equally important consideration is that curriculum language has an intimate relation to questions of power. Giroux stated that schools should be seen as institutions that are marked by the same complex of contradictory cultures that are found in the society. Giroux (1986) stated:

Developing a pedagogy that acknowledges the notion of cultural power means taking seriously the language forms, modes of reasoning, dispositions, and histories that give students an active voice in defining the world. It also means working on the experiences that constitute the lives of students. In other words, their experiences, in their varied cultural forms, have to be examined critically so as to reveal both their strengths and their weaknesses. This means teaching students how to critically appropriate the codes and vocabularies of different cultural experiences so as to provide them with the skills they will need in order to define and shape, rather than simply serve in, the modern world. (p.11)

Kendall (1983) stated that Freire's "practice of freedom" is the freedom for children to develop in a learning environment that affirms their existence both as individuals and as members of a cultural and racial group. The understanding of the richness and strengths of other cultural traditions, which is an integral part of the concept of cultural literacy, will empower students by providing them with the skills and knowledge necessary to not only imagine, but begin shaping a better world. All of these authors appear to reflect a concern for the development of critical thinking faculties in students. In practical terms, this goal and the ancillary one of examining cultural myths can be accomplished through a reevaluation of present curriculum development, teacher-training, and instructional practises in this province. Inclusion of cultural literacy as a common essential learning will assist this process.

Ethnic/Cultural Literacy and Curriculum Design and Development

Banks (1973, 1975a), one of the foremost specialists in ethnic studies curricula, used the term "ethnic literacy" in arguing that knowledge about one's own ethnic group is not sufficient if students are to attain a liberating education in which they fully grasp the complexity of their own ethnic group, or the total human experience. Banks (1975a) argued that all students in public schools need to develop a minimal level of ethnic literacy and an understanding of the role of ethnicity in life. He defined ethnic literacy as a knowledge of the role and function ethnicity has in our daily lives, in our society, and in

our transactions, locally, regionally and transnationally. Ethnic literacy also encompasses understandings of intergroup relations and ethnic conflict. Ethnicity is an integral and salient part of the social order and a sophisticated understanding of society can not be developed without a serious analysis of the separate ethnic communities that constitute the society. Students must become "ethnically literate" and more tolerant of cultural differences. Banks (1975a) stated that ethnic studies have often been conceptualized rather narrowly and are often fragmented, parochial in scope, focused on one group, and structured without clear rationales and careful planning. Such programs have rarely been effective in helping students to develop scientific generalizations and concepts about the characteristics that ethnic groups have in common, the unique status of each ethnic group, the differences that exist between groups, and an understanding of why ethnicity is an integral part of our social system. Also most ethnic studies programs have been developed on the tenuous assumptions that ethnic content is required primarily by ethnic minorities and that the focus of ethnic studies programs in a particular district should be on the particular minority groups found locally. Banks (1973) stated:

These assumptions, while widespread, are myopic and intellectually indefensible, and relegate ethnic minority studies to an inferior status in the school curriculum. (p.745)

Banks (1973) further stated:

The criterion used to identify content for inclusion into the curriculum should be the same for all topics, cultures and

groups, i.e., whether the content will enable students to develop valid generalizations and concepts about their social world and the skills and abilities to influence public policy. To use one criterion to select content about European cultures and another to select ethnic minority content is discriminatory and intellectually indefensible. (p.746)

Banks argued then that ethnic content is needed by all students to help them understand themselves and the social world they occupy. It can help students to broaden their understanding and concept of what it means to be human and enable them to better understand their own cultures and lifestyles and that of others. The studies should, therefore, be interdisciplinary and have a thematic and comparative orientation. They should also focus on higher level concepts and generalizations, and not on discrete facts about isolated heroes and contributions. The facts should be viewed as a means for developing major concepts and generalizations. Ethnic studies curricula should recognize the diversity which may be found to varying degrees in members of a particular ethnic group. Differences within ethnic groups can result from age, sex, level of education, length of residence in Canada, types of personal experience, and variations in degree of assimilation. Ethnic studies should also stress the similarities which unite people despite differences in race or culture. Banks (1975) has said that the:

emphasis in ethnic studies should be on the human characteristics and values of ethnic groups, and not on strange customs or tangible cultural elements like teepees and sombreros. Ethnic content should be used to help students learn that all human beings have common needs and characteristics, although the ways in which these traits are manifested differ cross-culturally. (p.6)

Werner (1979) and Werner et al. (1980) also stated that in Canada a "tourist or museum" approach has often been used to stimulate student interest in multicultural issues. These focused on trivial differences among groups and material aspects of culture and tended to ignore the conceptual understandings, issues and cultural meanings which underlie the objects. They argued for a more comprehensive design which would include thematic issues and a conceptual framework approach. Palmer & Troper (1979) also stated:

To evolve as a viable field of study in the public schools, it is essential that studies must be encouraged without entanglements in filial-pietous generalities - wise men, heroes, great events, and an unending series of contributions. The controversies, tensions, and frictions that have characterized the history of ethnicity and pluralism in Canada must be recognized and honestly approached. It must not be hidden under layers of brotherhood rhetoric and folk music. To do so would not only sugar-coat the truth, it would also misrepresent the ethnic experience of students, which remains the key to wider understanding. (p.22)

Palmer & Troper (1973) indicated that ethnic studies should be interdisciplinary and would be more meaningful if integrated into a wide-ranging series of courses. They noted the following allied consideration as well:

Rather than limit ethnic studies to one grade, a piece of this or that year in the total study experience, it would be wise to consider a more diffuse program whereby elements of the ethnic studies area become integrated into an ongoing student experience. (p.22)

They also indicated that, while the school can not be held solely responsible for the elimination of stereotypes, ethnocentrism, prejudice, and discrimination, it can make a major contribution. This could be accomplished by giving students insight into the

nature of other cultures, the impact of culture on human behavior, the impact of culture on perceptions, and, most importantly, cultural relativity.

Palmer & Troper (1979) also supported the contention of Banks that ethnic studies must involve more than the study of abstract concepts. It must involve the actual examination of people issues and events that begin in the classroom. They also concurred with Banks that ethnic studies inquiry should not be limited to those groups represented in the classroom. This would be counterproductive by undermining the necessary intergroup component of an effective ethnic literacy program.

Banks (1973) identified fifty concepts from seven disciplines which he saw as being fundamental to any ethnic studies curricula. (See the following diagram)

Bhatnagar (1983) summarized the work of Banks (1981) and Beck (1975) in listing the following goals of multicultural education:

- (1) To make ethnicity a salient part of society's life and culture. It assumes and promotes the idea that ethnic diversity is a positive element in society for all its citizens, minority as well as majority group members. Ethnic diversity enriches society because it provides individuals with more opportunity to experience other cultures and thus become more fulfilled as human beings.

- (2) To acquaint each ethnic group with the unique cultural features of other ethnic groups. It attempts to inculcate the idea that all cultures are just as valid and meaningful as their own. It assumes that with acquaintance and understanding, appreciation and respect will follow.

- (3) To provide cultural alternatives to students. Mainstream American students would thus be exposed to Mexican-American mores and life-style - an alternative way of living. It maintains that teaching Anglo-dominated curriculum is actually doing harm to most students by denying them the richness of the varieties of music,

**FIGURE 1:
Organizing Concepts
for Ethnic Studies Curricula**

DISCIPLINE	KEY CONCEPTS	History*	immigration migration change
Anthropology	culture culture diversity acculturation forced acculturation cultural assimilation race racial mixture sub-culture syncretism melting pot cultural genocide ethnocentrism	Political Science	power powerless separatism oppression social protest interest group legitimacy authority power elite colony colonized rebellion
Economics	scarcity poverty production consumption capitalism economic exploitation	Psychology	identity aggression repression displacement
Geography	ethnic enclave region ghetto inner-city location	Sociology	discrimination ethnic group ethnic minority group prejudice racism socialization status values

* Identifying organizing historical concepts is especially difficult because history does not possess unique concepts but uses concepts from *all* social science disciplines to study human behavior in the *past*. For a further discussion of this point see James A. Banks, "Teaching Black History with a Focus on Decision-Making," *Social Education*, Vol. 35 (November 1971), pp. 740-745. ff. 820-821

literature, life style and value systems.

(4) To provide skills, intellectual, social and emotional, that would enable the student to succeed in mainstream society. (p.60)

Banks (1975a) saw some common threads in the complaints and expressions of ethnic groups when he traced the history of the development of ethnic studies programs. Most stressed the ways in which they were colonized peoples, victims of discrimination and racism, politically powerless, and the need for programs that would enhance group self-perception. They also focused on how such programs could contribute to their economic, political, and psychological liberation. Banks stated that ethnic studies programs that focus on one ethnic group are not without merit. They can serve several useful purposes. Besides dispelling destructive myths and half-truths about the ethnic group, such programs can contribute to the enhancement of students' self-concepts and self-perceptions. Goldschmid (1970) noted that some research suggested that many ethnic minority students have deflated self-concepts and have low opinions of their ethnic group. Goldschmid also noted that the bulk of current research has indicated that recent attempts at self-determination by ethnic groups have not significantly changed the self-concepts and evaluations of most minority children and youths. Banks (1975a) stated:

Individuals who do not know, accept, and understand themselves rarely have the capacity to understand and empathize with others. (p.108)

This statement is supported by the research of Chabassol (1970),

Mussen (1950), Noar (1972), Rubin (1967) and Tabachnick (1962).

Banks (1976a) also wrote of the concern of some educators that ethnic studies, by fostering ethnic pride, might lead to extreme ethnic conflict and the balkanization of society. He stated that whether ethnic studies programs contribute to the development of dysfunctional ethnic polarization and social conflict or democratic social change depends on how the programs are conceptualized and taught. A program that fosters humanism and reflective social action and does not merely focus on the sins of Anglo-Americans and the virtues of oppressed minorities will assist students to develop the competencies required in a pluralistic society. He identified several major goals of such a program. One of these was to help individuals clarify their ethnic identities and to function effectively within their own ethnic communities without developing ethnocentric perspectives. Another was to function effectively within other ethnic cultures and to respond positively to individuals from them. Individuals must also learn to interact with members of outside groups and learn how to resolve conflicts with them. Another was to develop the ability to make reflective decisions so that individuals can resolve personal problems, influence social policy and develop a sense of political efficacy through social action.

Krug (1973) noted that a number of white ethnic groups in this early period also demanded ethnic studies programs that focused on their particular groups. Conflicts developed between white and non-white ethnic groups over limited resources in various school districts. Banks (1975a) noted that curriculum

specialists have developed ethnic studies programs largely as a response to political and social demands without giving much thought to the issues which should be considered when curriculum changes are made. Those would include such issues as the nature of learning, the broad social and psychological needs of students, and the structure of knowledge. Banks (1983) also noted that, in addition to curriculum change, reform must encompass staff attitudes and perceptions, teaching strategies, tests and testing procedures, and school-sanctioned languages and dialects.

The problem, Banks noted, is that curriculum specialists have rarely gone beyond such specialized courses and modified the entire curriculum with ethnic content and experiences. Banks (1976a) stated:

Ethnic studies should not be an addition to the curriculum, limited to specialized courses, or studied only by ethnic minorities. Rather, ethnic studies should be viewed as a process of curriculum reform that will result in the creation of a new curriculum that is based on new assumptions and new perspectives. (p.77)

He stated that ethnic studies programs should also draw from several social science disciplines because one discipline only gives students a partial understanding of intragroup and intergroup problems. An expanded ethnic studies program that included all ethnic groups would enable students to develop high-level concepts, generalizations and theories about ethnic groups, thus enabling them to become more effective decision makers in society. Banks (1973b) claimed that the emphasis in

sound ethnic studies programs must be on concept attainment and that facts should only be used to help students master higher-level generalizations and concepts. In addition to the development of high-level concepts at a cognitive level, Banks (1975a) noted that emphasis must be given to the core values within various cultural groups. Banks noted that the essence of a culture can only be understood by studying its central values and their relationship to the daily lives of the people. He stated:

Values, like attitudes and beliefs, are learned from the groups in which the individual is socialized; we are not born with a set of values and do not derive them independently. While there are some broad and general values embraced by most ... communities (such as respect for the lives of those regarded as human and kind treatment of children), these general values are often defined and perceived differently within various ethnic subcultures, or they take diverse forms. Other values are very important in some ethnic communities and largely absent from others. (p.112)

The fact that values and attitudes are not innate, but acquired over time by the interaction of the individual with his or her social or informational environment is supported by a wide range of researchers. They include: Allport (1954), Bibby (1960), Binding (1963), Goodman (1968), Harris et al. (1950), Ijaz (1981), Katz (1976), Morland & Suthers (1980), Proshansky (1966), Schon et al. (1980), Sedlacek et al. (1973), Sherif & Cantril (1946) and Sherif & Sherif (1953).

Banks (1976b) explained the function of both the cognitive and affective components in a multiethnic program. The cognitive component should increase the student's ability to conceptualize

and generalize about ethnically related events and to collect and evaluate data related to race and ethnicity. It should consist of those key concepts, generalizations, and inquiry skills needed to understand ethnic life. The affective component should be designed to assist students to clarify and analyze their attitudes and feelings related to ethnic and racial prejudice with a view to promoting positive attitudes. Clark (1963), Glock et al. (1975), Goodman (1968), Harding et al. (1959) and Ijaz & Ijaz (1981) have all indicated that prejudice is widespread among adolescents.

Taba (1966) pointed out that curriculum theorists and researchers have stated that students must study more than one content sample or group in order to develop valid concepts and generalizations. Another advantage of a broadly conceptualized ethnic studies program is students are able to develop more sophisticated understandings of the complex nature of ethnicity and can compare and contrast the experiences of different ethnic groups.

Banks (1972), Dillon (1981), Roth (1984) and Smith (1969) all indicated the belief that, while the public school has served mainly to reinforce social class and racial stratification, it may be the primary institution which can facilitate the changes necessary to develop in students the skills and attitudes necessary for their effective participation in a pluralistic society. It may also be the only institution that can prevent racial unrest and chaos in society. Cremin (1976) noted that, while the school has an important role to play in bringing about

educational equality, there are other influences which may assist or hinder schools' attempts to achieve equity. Those influences were identified as the family, the mass media, the community, the church and the youth culture which also play an important role in educating the young. Banks (1983) stated that the school will be hindered to the extent that these other influences promote behaviors, norms, and values that contradict those of the school. Other theorists, such as Jencks et al. (1972) and Bowles & Gintis (1976) contended that schools are severely limited in their ability to increase educational equality that would seem to be a prerequisite to improved academic achievement and life chances. Policy makers must, therefore, be realistic in recognizing both the possibilities and the limitations of the school and curriculum reform in bringing about equal opportunity.

Graham (1980) indicated that educators must focus not only on educational equality but on the educational process. She stated:

Equity differentiates itself from equal educational opportunity by attention to the circumstances in which teaching and learning are embedded. The focus is not only on the "input" (such as access) or "output" (such as result) but on the educational process in between. (p.123)

Both input and output variables and the process of education are integrally interrelated. Each must, therefore, receive attention if students are to attain the literacy and other skills necessary to function in our technological society. Multiethnic education offers the best hope for students because it focuses on changing those variables that prevent students from having enriching,

effective, and stimulating learning experiences.

Curricular Models

A number of educational models have been developed for the implementation of a culturally pluralistic philosophy via the multicultural process. Many of these, as suggested previously, have concentrated on the curriculum. Banks (1974, 1981) developed two models which view society as composed of two factions, the oppressors and the oppressed. The models were explained in Cohen & Manion (1983). The first was called a "Shared Power Model". The goal in this model would be to create a society in which currently excluded ethnic groups would share power with dominant ethnic groups. In this model, an attempt would be made to build group pride, cohesion and identity among excluded ethnic groups, and help them to develop the ability to make reflective political decisions, to gain and exercise political power effectively and to develop a belief in the humanness of their own group. The major goal of the "Enlightened Powerful Groups Model" would be to modify the attitudes and perceptions of dominant ethnic groups so that they would be willing to share power with other ethnic groups.

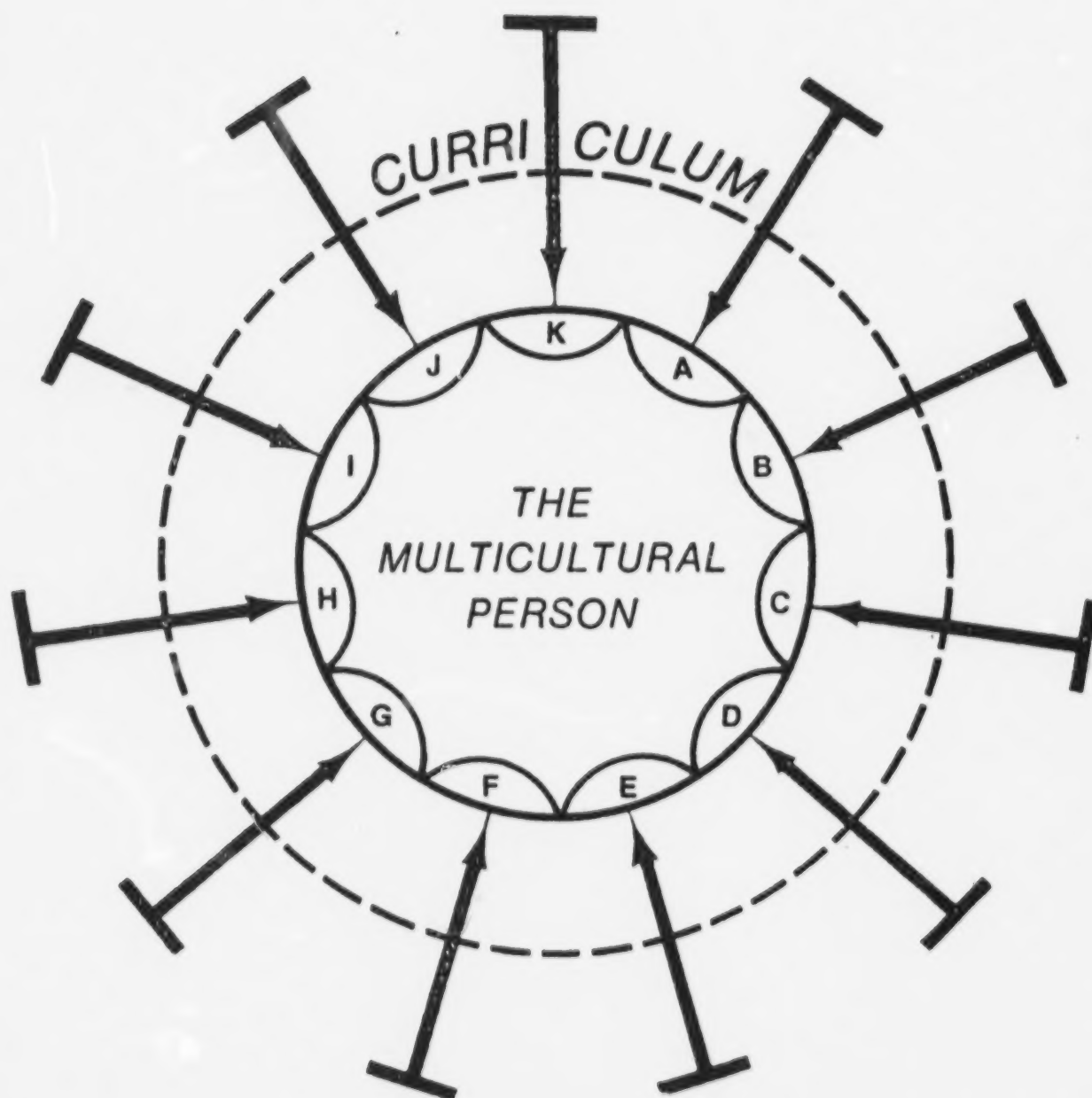
Banks (1976a) also delineated four models of ethnic studies. Model A was identified as an Anglo-American perspective of history and culture. Model B added multiethnic perspectives to the major curriculum thrust. In Model C, the Multiethnic Model, the Anglo-American perspective was only one of several and was in no way superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives. The final

Model D was identified as being multinational which was considered the ultimate curriculum goal. In this model, students would study historical and social events from multinational perspectives and points of view. Banks stated that many schools have implemented Model B type programs in their attempts to alter the curriculum. Banks suggested that curriculum reform should move from Model A to Model C and ultimately to Model D.

Sussna (1974) developed a model which provided for integrated classes and ethnic classes in which children developed cultural appreciation of one's own group and learned about other groups.

Cortes (1973) suggested that traditional frames of reference be reconceptualized and "exploratory concepts" be examined in designing a curriculum that effectively reflects the experience of ethnic groups. Cortes indicated that by omission of diverse cultural experiences, educators communicate to their students that there is nothing of value or importance in the experiences of other cultures. Cortes developed what he referred to as the Multicultural Person Curricular Model. (See following diagram) In this model, the inner circle represents the goal of the Multicultural Person - an individual with the desired skill, knowledge, and attitude competencies which are symbolized by the letters around the perimeter. The arrows represent educational stairways to those goals and at the base of each stairway is a contrasting "anticompetency." The anticompetencies are negative attributes of students that multicultural education is designed to overcome. Multicultural education is symbolized by the dotted

DEVELOPING THE MULTICULTURAL PERSON



line that encircles the multicultural person and intersects the stairways. Multicultural education being defined as the coordinated, continuous process of helping each student move toward attaining multicultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The model recognizes that each student will have a unique and constantly changing profile resting at different points on the various stairways indicated.

Cortes indicated that many of these anticompetencies are learned through what he called the "societal curriculum" - the pervasive, ongoing informal curriculum of family, peer groups, neighborhoods, mass media, and other socializing forces that affect the individual throughout his entire life. Thus the challenge of multicultural education is to provide an educational experience which assists in developing and maintaining multicultural competencies, often in contrast to the societal curriculum. To be successful, multicultural education must be included at each grade level, in each subject area, and in each course. In other words, Cortes indicated that it must be, what would be classified in a Saskatchewan context, a common essential learning.

Aragon (1973) expounded the three-stage Esperanza Model for developing a multicultural curriculum. The model, developers saw, offered a multi-faceted varied paradigm for reaching many different levels of the school community in effectively designing and implementing a curriculum reflective of cultural pluralism.

Gibson (1976) and Johnstone (1981) both presented a typology of multicultural education that attempted to explain the

assertions and assumptions surrounding the concept of multicultural education. Both acknowledged that the approaches identified may overlap, but that each is analytically distinct carrying with it different images of society and different interpretations of the role of the school. The first that Gibson identified was Education of the Culturally Different or Benevolent Multiculturalism. In this approach attempts are made to equalize educational opportunities for the "culturally different" student. This approach originated with evidence of lower academic achievement, higher drop-out rates, and restricted career aspirations existing among certain ethno-cultural groups, and a rejection of cultural or genetic deficit models to explain these characteristics (Harvey & Masemann, 1973; Hawthorn, 1967 and Grande, 1975). Differential success rates were rationalized in terms of cultural discordance between the school and the minority student's home. For proponents of this approach the solution was to make the school adapt to the child's culture in order to reduce school/home discordance leading to improved self-image, motivation and academic success. Johnstone stated that educating the culturally different is essentially a compensatory process which assumes that student differences can be dealt with effectively through special programs within schools dominated by the majority or mainstream culture. However, he differs from Gibson in stating that this approach attempts to change children, their language and even the childrearing practices of their parents. The public school is seen as an alien system which requires students to conform to it in order to

benefit from schooling. This approach thus recommends educational programs aimed at the "special needs" of culturally different students. This approach has several inherent weaknesses. It assumes that there is a correspondence between multicultural education programs and success in schools. This assumption has not yet been empirically validated. It also assumes that equality between cultural groups will result from multicultural education programs. This also has yet to be demonstrated.

The second approach identified by Gibson was Education About Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding. The major differences between this approach and the previous one are that it targets all students and it seeks to promote in them an appreciation of the value of ethnic and cultural diversity and the right of others to be different. It educates about cultural differences instead of trying to educate the culturally different. The school, as a major socializing agent, is seen as having a responsibility to promote an appreciation of ethnic and cultural diversity. Henley and Young (1981) claimed that the school's traditional failure to do this has been well documented. They also claimed that one of the problems with this approach is that teacher education programs have failed to prepare teachers who are able to cope with cultural differences. The result being that both students and teachers are placed in an intolerable situation. They also noted that reaction to this criticism in Canada has been to demand that the school become oriented towards the cultural development of all of its students by creating

environments and designing programs that promote, in an active and positive manner, ethnic and cultural diversity. Johnstone claimed that among the weaknesses of this approach are: the assumption that its goals can be achieved from within our traditional educational systems; that it overemphasizes differences which may subtly reinforce cultural superiority-inferiority hypotheses and stereotyping; it unrealistically assumes that school courses will stop discrimination or end social injustice. On the other hand, the evidence presented in the third section of this report supports the contention that schools can make an effective difference in reducing prejudice, racism and discrimination through curricular reform.

The third approach identified by Gibson was Education for Cultural Pluralism. Those who support this approach see its main objective as the maintenance and extension of ethnic and cultural diversity within society. Pachecio (1977) indicted that it implies a structural recognition of cultural differences as a way of increasing the power of ethnic minority groups in the schools which in turn would create a climate for academic success. Pachecio stated:

It attempts, through a variety of structural arrangements in the school, to aggressively support the right of a cultural group to maintain itself. It perceives that parity of power and decision-making among groups is crucially important and assumes that the school has a critical role to play in bringing cultural pluralism about in the wider society. (p.20)

Henley & Young (1981) noted that this approach suggests cultural retention programs within the normal school day and

quota systems in staffing arrangements to reflect the ethnic make-up of the school community. They also suggested that, taken to its extreme, this approach because of its commitment to the reinforcement of cultural boundaries, could see cultural boundaries physically defined by separate schools. Johnstone noted that cultural pluralism can overemphasize the group to the neglect of the individual.

The final approach identified by Gibson was Bicultural Education. Bicultural education is designed to produce learners who have competencies in and can operate in two different cultures successfully. This approach emphasizes the individual rather than the ethnic or cultural group. Proponents of this approach assume that one's native culture ought to be preserved and that the "mainstream" culture, if different than the native culture, should be acquired as an alternative or second culture. Supporters also contend that individuals from the mainstream culture will also benefit from the development of competencies in a second culture. In Canada, Rocher (1976) has observed that bicultural education programs have usually centered on bilingualism as a stepping stone to a better understanding of the literature, theatre, mentality and ideas of the other cultural group. Johnstone (1981) noted the deficiencies of this approach as being: a tendency to equate culture with language or an ethnic group; overemphasis of the bilingual and neglect of the bicultural; overemphasis of ethnic identity which can preclude recognition of other possible identities.

Cultural Pluralism Versus Assimilationism

A social studies curriculum that fosters cross-cultural competency and ethnic and cultural literacy should be grounded in an ideology that reflects the ethnic diversity within society. Weinberg (1977) stated that, historically, the social studies curriculum within American common schools has reflected the assimilationist ideology and has promoted Anglo-conformity and ethnic encapsulation. Washburn (1975) stated that school districts throughout the United States, stimulated by social forces and supported by both public and private agencies, are now implementing a wide variety of curricular reforms related to pluralism and ethnicity. Banks (1975b) indicated the two predominant ideologies evident in most theoretical discussions on ethnicity are the cultural pluralist and the assimilationist.

Palmer (1976) suggested that there are three debates in Canada over appropriate responses to ethnic and cultural diversity:

A debate between proponents of assimilation versus proponents of multiculturalism, between proponents of biculturalism and multiculturalism, and between different proponents of multiculturalism. (p.102)

Porter (1965, 1975) has been a vehement critic of multiculturalism and an advocate of assimilationist ideology in Canada. The main point of his argument is that multiculturalism is detrimental to progress and equality of opportunity. He noted that ethnicity and the maintenance of cultural affiliation produces a form of ethnic stratification or a "vertical mosaic"

in which ethnicity combines with class to reduce social mobility and opportunity. Isajiw (1977) also argued for partial and inevitable assimilation of ethnic groups in Canada. Bullivant (1981) stated that the most consistent and virulent opponents of the multicultural ideology in Canada are those who consider the bilingual (anglophone/francophone) model the most appropriate one. The majority of these counter-ideologists are francophone supporters. Palmer (1976) also noted that multilingualism has been advocated in Canada by some supporters of pluralism. Palmer commented:

Another contentious issue ... is the degree to which language maintenance is necessary to have a viable multicultural policy. Some supporters of multiculturalism accept the arguments of the B & B Commission that language and culture are inseparable but pursue the argument to conclude that if Canada is to be a multicultural society it must also in some ways be a multilingual one. (p.104)

Lupul (1978) reflected the view of some Westerners by arguing that multiculturalism perpetuates the inequitable situation of the non-British and non-French groups because in Canada it is tied to official bilingualism. Troper (1977) considered multiculturalism in Canada an ever changing hydra. He considered federal multicultural policy a largely political gesture to ethnic pressure groups. Lupul (1978) noted that the curriculum situation in Canada, apart from the provision of some third language programs, has not really had a multi-ethnic or multicultural reality. He noted a lack of teaching materials at all levels about multiculturalism and a basic ignorance of teachers about ethnicity.

Canada is a society with two official languages where English and French have been predominant, if not exclusive, languages of the workplace and the public school. Grande (1981) stated that the official position of the federal government as enunciated in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is that Canada is a nation of two languages, cultures and societies, the English and the French. In the resume of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book Four (1967), it was stated that others, whatever their ethnic or national origin or their mother tongue, have the "right" to integrate with either of the two societies. This statement is an obvious paradox that does not reflect the reality of Canadian society which is made up of many people of different traditions, value systems, languages and cultures. Access to second and third language programs may offer a partial response to ethnic and cultural diversity. Hanscombe (1978) noted that the most common approach in Canada has been English or French as a second language programs.

Novak (1977), Sizemore (1974) and Williams (1975) argued that the school curriculum should be revised to reflect a cultural pluralist ideology. Pluralists assume that the ethnic group is of great importance in the lives of students. They believe that the curriculum should be revised to reflect the cognitive styles, cultures, and aspirations of ethnic groups, especially the "visible" minorities. Learning materials should be culture-specific and the major goals of the curriculum should be to train the student to function more effectively within his

ethnic culture, promote ethnic attachments and allegiances and enable their ethnic group to gain power and exercise it within the larger civic culture.

Assimilationists base their ideology on two misleading and incomplete conceptualizations of society: Anglo-conformity and the melting pot (Gordon, 1964). They feel that the pluralists greatly exaggerate the extent of cultural differences within society. Ethnicity is viewed as promoting divisions within society and ethnic conflicts as well as leading to the balkanization of society. They believe that the best way to promote the goals of society and develop commitments to the ideals of democracy is to promote the full socialization of all individuals and groups into the common civic culture. What they mean by the common civic culture is most often the Anglo-American culture which ignores the reality that the country is made up of many different ethnic groups. Glazer (1975) argued that at best the school should take a position of benign neutrality toward the ethnicity of students. Gordon (1964) and Greeley (1974) both indicated that the cultural pluralists have failed to give adequate attention to the fact that gross cultural, if not structural, assimilation has taken place in society. Banks (1980) indicated that the assimilationists greatly understate the role of ethnicity and the cultural pluralists exaggerate the importance of the ethnic group in the socialization of the individual. Valentine (1971) stated that while the ethnic group is very important in the socialization of individuals, individuals are strongly influenced by the common culture during

their early socialization, even if they never leave the ethnic community or enclave. Banks (1980) concurred when he stated:

There is a universal American culture and society that is shared by all American ethnic groups. However, there are also ethnic subsocieties which contain cultural elements, institutions, and groups which have not become universalized or part of the universal American culture and society. These non-universalized ethnic cultural characteristics and ethnic subsocieties play an important role in the socialization of many Americans and help individual members of ethnic groups to satisfy important needs. Most Americans participate both within the universal American culture and society as well as within their ethnic subsocieties and ethnic subcultures. (p.115)

Glazer & Moynihan (1975), Gordon (1964), Greeley (1974) and other social scientists have amply documented the fact that ethnicity has been a powerful factor in shaping American history and contemporary society.

Banks (1980) further argued that what has happened in the United States is multiple acculturation and not a kind of unidirectional type of culture assimilation in which ethnic and cultural groups have been influenced by Anglo culture. Banks (1975b) developed a third ideology which integrated elements of the other two described. He called it a pluralist-assimilationist ideology. He stated that the pluralist-assimilationist believes that the curriculum should reflect the cultures of various ethnic groups and the common culture. The major goal of the curriculum should be to help the individual function effectively within both.

Banks (1980) indicated that, when planning the multiethnic curriculum, curriculum developers need to seriously consider the

ethnic characteristics of students. The assumption must not be made that ethnic groups are monolithic and have homogeneous needs and characteristics. Students differ greatly in their ethnic characteristics and some attempt to individualize experiences for students within the multiethnic curriculum should be made. Banks developed a typology outlining the basic stages of the development of ethnicity among individual members of ethnic groups. They were: (a) Stage 1 - Ethnic Psychological Captivity, (b) Stage 2 - Ethnic Encapsulation, (c) Stage 3 - Ethnic Identity Clarification, (d) Stage 4 - Biethnicity, and (e) Stage 5 - Multiethnicity. Banks stated that the fifth stage describes the idealized goal for citizenship identity within an ethnically pluralistic nation.

The Stage Five individual has a clarified ethnic self-identity, positive attitudes toward other ethnic and racial groups, and is self-actualized. The individual is able to function, at least at minimal levels, within several ethnic environments and to understand, appreciate, and share the values, symbols, and institutions of several ethnic cultures. Such multiethnic perspectives and feelings, perhaps help the individual to live a more enriched and fulfilling life and to formulate creative and novel solutions to personal and public problems. (p.121)

Banks (1980) delineated the curricular implications of his typology. The stage one student, although focusing on his own ethnic group, will require knowledge about other groups to help him understand his own group and the interrelationships among and between different groups. The stage two individual needs a strong affective component which helps to clarify ethnic and racial feelings. In stage three, value clarification, moral

development, and conceptual teaching strategies should be used to enhance the individual's emerging ethnic identity clarification. The stage four individual should be exposed to strategies which assist him in relating to his own ethnic group and to another ethnic group. Finally, stage five should be designed to assist the student to develop a global sense of ethnic literacy and to master concepts, generalizations and theories concerning a wide range of ethnic groups. Once students are able to function at higher stages of ethnicity, they will be able to increase their levels of cross-cultural competency.

The Inadequacy of Cultural Deprivation/Deficiency Theories

All students have a culture! Every student is a member of some cultural or ethnic group. A number of years ago it was popular in the literature to incorrectly label students from ethnic minority or low socio-economic backgrounds "culturally deprived." The cultural deprivation or cultural deficiency theories were based on the erroneous assumption that because ethnic minority and poor students did not exhibit similar cultural characteristics to those of middle-class white youths, they were deprived of a valid culture. The theories reasoned that without a valid culture it was difficult for these students to compete and succeed in the school environment. Also contained within the cultural deprivation theories was the notion that these students were also linguistically deprived because they did not speak "correct" English. Such speakers were often described as alingual, that is, without a legitimate language and their

dialects were dismissed as inadequate. Many compensatory programs were unable to extinguish these so-called dialects and program students with middle-class school English. Many of the programs failed. Labelle (1974) stated that compensatory programs attempted to transform poor and ethnic minority students into middle-class, white, school-English-speaking students. These programs were not successful because they were based on the faulty assumption that ethnic minority and poor students have invalid languages and cultures. The reality of ethnicity was ignored by these programs. They ignored the fact that ethnic minority and poor students have languages, cultures, and ethnic group heritages that cannot be easily replaced by those of another culture.

Garcia (1982) stated:

We now realize that all students, regardless of race, color, creed, and ethnic group affiliation, come to school as culturally whole persons with a culture and a language and concomitant values, attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge. What we now need to know is how to understand the student's cultural and ethnic background and experiences so we may utilize them productively in the teaching-learning process. (p.21)

Garcia also noted that a group's culture operates at both explicit and implicit levels of reality. The explicit level consisting of overt, standardized ways of feeling, reacting and behaving. The implicit level consists of covert, unstated, and largely unconscious values, attitudes, and assumptions. Verbal and nonverbal behavior and language mediate the culture for a group. The most important consideration here is that one must

carefully interpret the explicit actions of members of a particular culture from the group's perspectives. Perspectives that are based on the implicit meaning the group gives certain overt acts. Cultural literacy is in part the knowledge, sensitivity and understanding of a group's values, beliefs, and attitudes which are affected by the traditions, history and current status of the group. Thus to know a group's culture one must know it at the implicit level of reality. Garcia questions, from a strictly existential point of view, whether one can ever really know a group's implicit culture. Can one who is not a part of the culture really feel or understand what it is like to be poor or a minority group member? In answer to that question, I believe that it is possible for students to achieve at least a vicarious experience that immerses them in another culture through the use of experiential activities. The literature of the final section of this report supports this contention.

Grant (1978) also clearly indicated that the educational process should avoid the creation of separate programs for different ethnic or cultural groups. He stated:

Education that is multicultural must be manifested in an educational process that neither advocates nor tolerates heating up the old "melting pot" nor creating multi "monocultural" educational programs. (p.47)

Grant also indicated that education that is multicultural should include such features as:

1. staffing composition and patterns throughout the organizational hierarchy that reflect ... society's pluralistic nature;

2. curricula that are appropriate, flexible, unbiased, and incorporate the contributions of all cultural groups;
3. affirmation of the languages, belief systems, values, and lifestyles of cultural groups as different rather than deficient;
4. instructional materials that are free of bias, omissions, and stereotypes; that are inclusive rather than supplementary; and that show individuals from different groups fulfilling different occupational and social roles. (p.47)

Grant (1975) also stated that education that is multicultural values the concepts implied by cultural pluralism, multilingualism, cross-cultural studies, intercultural studies, and intergroup and human relations. Johnstone (1981) also noted that multiculturalism is primarily concerned with recognizing cultural plurality and with developing individual capacity to function effectively in several cultures and that this requires the use of cross-cultural teaching and learning to facilitate intercultural understanding.

Little & Willey (1981) concurred with Grant with regard to a total reappraisal of curriculum development strategies. They stated:

Many of those responsible for and involved in multiethnic education within LEAs and in schools, now believe that the presence of minority ethnic group children has implications which go beyond the need for special arrangements and special provision, and involve the curriculum generally. Curriculum development in these schools is now seen less in terms of simply adding on special teaching such as "black studies", and more as involving a reappraisal of the curriculum as a whole to make it relevant to all pupils. Within authorities in multiracial areas, there is now wide agreement that the presence of minority ethnic groups in Britain has implications for the curriculum in all schools whatever their ethnic composition. (p.92)

Clark (1965), Mackler & Giddings (1965), and Riessman (1962) all noted that cultural deprivation theories have had an alibi-serving function or a built-in rationalization for educators who have failed to teach minority children effectively. Clark & Plotkin (1972) stated that cultural deprivation theory has been an argument for the status quo which ignores both the dangers of such an approach and the emerging sense among minority people of the need for control of their own destiny. Lipton (1962) noted that the hard realities and complexities of analyzing differences in environment and behavior are avoided by substituting a global explanatory term, cultural deprivation. Lipton stated:

A thorough examination then of the term and the children who are characterized as culturally deprived, reveals the same spread of cultural, social, economic, emotional differences as appears in our so-called middle class. Each child when thoroughly identified, will be found to have certain strengths, weaknesses, hopes, wishes, feelings, fears, and goals which can be tapped just as any other child if we eliminate from our perception the negativism and the unconscious prejudices towards difference that we have been so long in developing. (p.19)

Curriculum Guidelines for Multiethnic/Multicultural Education

The National Council for the Social Studies position statement, Curriculum Guidelines for Multiethnic Education in Banks et al. (1976), recognized that there was a need for sound guidelines for designing and implementing ethnic studies programs and for integrating their curricula with ethnic content. The position statement also emphasized the need for students to understand ethnicity in society and to examine their personal attitudes and values related to race and ethnicity. The

guidelines reflected the learning theory and research at that time. It also incorporated the thinking and experiences of many individuals and groups. The NCSS Task Force on Ethnic Studies Curriculum Guidelines and the NCSS Ethnic Heritage Advisory Council agreed upon several basic principles. They were:

1. Effective ethnic studies instruction can best take place within a school atmosphere which has institutional norms that recognize and are sensitive to ethnic diversity. Consequently, the Guidelines must deal with reform of the total school environment. Reforming the course of study is necessary but clearly insufficient.
2. The Guidelines should focus on ethnic pluralism and not on cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism suggests a type of education which deals with the cultural contributions of all groups within society. Consequently, that concept is far too broad and inclusive to set forth effectively the boundaries of an area encompassing both the contributions of ethnic groups and the problems resulting from ethnic discrimination in American society.
3. Educators in each subject area in the school have a responsibility for incorporating studies related to American ethnic groups into their units and lessons. Teachers of areas such as music, art, language arts, mathematics, science, home economics, and physical education, as well as the social studies, share this responsibility.
4. Teachers at all grade levels, from preschool to 12th grade and beyond, should modify their curricula and teaching strategies so that these reflect the ethnic diversity in American life and culture.
5. Ethnic studies are needed by all students regardless of their ethnic, social class, or racial background. (p.6)

The NCSS Task Force identified three major factors that make multiethnic education a necessity: (1) ethnic pluralism is a societal reality that influences the lives of young people; (2) in one way or another, individuals do acquire knowledge or beliefs, sometimes invalid, about ethnic groups and ethnicity; (3) beliefs and knowledge about ethnic groups limit the perspectives of many and make a difference, often a negative

difference, in the opportunities and options of members of ethnic groups. It was felt, therefore, that all members of society should develop "ethnic literacy," a solidly based understanding of ethnicity and ethnic groups. It was also stated that ethnic pluralism is based on the following four premises:

1. Ethnic diversity should be recognized and respected at individual, group, and societal levels.
2. Ethnic diversity provides a basis for societal cohesiveness and survival.
3. Equality of opportunity should be afforded to members of all ethnic groups.
4. Ethnic identification should be optional for individuals. (p.9)

The document also indicated that recent research supported the contention that the individual learning styles of students vary. Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) and Stodolsky & Lesser (1967) were cited as providing research of particular interest to multiethnic education because their work suggested that learning styles are in some ways related to ethnicity. The point was made that it is of crucial importance that schools reject the notion that all children learn in precisely the same way. The final portion of the document listed twenty-three curriculum guidelines for multiethnic education.

1. Ethnic pluralism should permeate the total school environment.
2. School policies and procedures should foster positive multiethnic interactions and understandings among students, teachers, and the supportive staff.
3. The school staff should reflect the ethnic pluralism within American society.
4. Schools should have systematic, comprehensive, mandatory, and continuing staff development programs.
5. The curriculum should reflect the ethnic learning styles of the students within the school community.

6. The multiethnic curriculum should provide students with continuous opportunities to develop a better sense of self.
7. The curriculum should help students to understand the totality of the experiences of American ethnic groups.
8. The multiethnic curriculum should help students understand that there is always a conflict between ideals and realities in human societies.
9. The multiethnic curriculum should explore and clarify ethnic alternatives and options within American society.
10. The multiethnic curriculum should promote values, attitudes, and behaviors which support ethnic pluralism.
11. The multiethnic curriculum should help students to develop their decision-making abilities, social participation skills, and sense of political efficacy as necessary bases for effective citizenship in an ethnically pluralistic nation.
12. The multiethnic curriculum should help students to develop the skills necessary for effective interpersonal and interethnic group interactions.
13. The multiethnic curriculum should be comprehensive in scope and sequence, should present holistic views of ethnic groups, and should be an integral part of the total school curriculum.
14. The multiethnic curriculum should include the continuous study of the cultures, historical experiences, social realities, and existential conditions of ethnic groups, including a variety of racial compositions.
15. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches should be used in designing and implementing the multiethnic curriculum.
16. The curriculum should use comparative approaches in the study of ethnic groups and ethnicity.
17. The curriculum should help students to view and interpret events, situations, and conflict from diverse ethnic perspectives and points of view.
18. The curriculum should conceptualize and describe the development of the United States as a multidirectional society.
19. The school should provide opportunities for students to participate in the aesthetic experiences of various ethnic groups.
20. Schools should foster the study of ethnic group languages as legitimate communication systems.
21. The curriculum should make maximum use of local community resources.
22. The assessment procedures used with students should reflect their ethnic cultures.
23. Schools should conduct ongoing, systematic evaluations, of the goals, methods, and instructional materials used in teaching about ethnicity. (pp.17-41)

Cohen & Manion (1983) adapted the previous broad guidelines for multicultural curriculum from Banks (1981):

1. Ethnic pluralism should permeate the total school environment.
2. School policies and procedures should foster positive multicultural interactions and undertakings among pupils, teachers and ancillary staff.
3. School staff should reflect the ethnic pluralism within society; and staff development programmes should be a mandatory feature of school life.
4. The curriculum should reflect the ethnic learning styles of the pupils within the community.
5. The multicultural curriculum should provide pupils with continuous opportunities to develop a better sense of self.
6. The multicultural curriculum should promote values, attitudes and behaviors that support ethnic pluralism.
7. The multicultural curriculum should help pupils develop the skills necessary for effective inter-personal and inter-ethnic group interaction.
8. The multicultural curriculum should be comprehensive in scope and sequence and should present holistic views of ethnic groups and be an integral part of the total school curriculum; further, interdisciplinary approaches should be used in designing and implementing the multicultural curriculum.
9. The school should provide opportunities for pupils to participate in the aesthetic experiences of various ethnic groups. (pp.191-195)

Gay (1975), like Banks, indicated that ethnically pluralistic curriculum content has the potential for producing fundamental changes in the total school climate and in reforming the entire nature of education. She cautioned curriculum developers by stating that for this potential to be realized information about ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity must be handled with great care and sensitivity. She stated:

Fragmented and isolated units, courses, and bits of information about ethnic groups interspersed sporadically into school curriculum and instructional programs will not do the job. Nor will additive approaches, wherein school curricula remain basically the same, and ethnic content

becomes an appendage to these curricula. Rather, in designing curriculum, well-conceived, systematic, organizational plans must be employed that allow for ethnically specific content to become integral parts of all aspects of the school's educational programs. Otherwise, our experiments with education for ethnic and cultural diversity are likely to prove to be of no avail; or they may even prove to be counterproductive. (p.176)

Gay identified some common design criteria that must be observed to achieve optimum effectiveness in ethnically pluralistic curricula. They must reflect a clear sense of purpose, have a clearly articulated philosophy and be organized around discernible objectives which can easily be translated into instructional plans. Materials, experiences and activities should be used that are interdisciplinary, multidimensional, authentic, integrative, comprehensive and employ both cognitive and affective skills in assisting students to understand ethnic diversity and cultural differences. Multiethnic curricula should be broadly conceptualized to include the experiences of both minority and majority ethnic groups. She identified a number of curriculum reform strategies. The most popular approach, Gay (1977) suggested, is to integrate ethnic content into existing curricula and to pluralize curriculum materials. The other strategies identified included a modified basic skills approach, a thematic approach, a conceptual approach, a cultural components approach and a branching design approach.

The modified basic skills approach is a strategy based on the premise that ethnic and cultural diversity should permeate all aspects of education. Thus, ethnic materials should be used to teach such fundamental skills as reading, writing, calculating

and reasoning, as well as the conceptual skills specific to different disciplines. Gay (1977) stated:

It further suggests that the idea of "basic skills" should be broadened to include social participation, cross-cultural communication and functioning, decision-making, and reflective self-analysis, since proficiency in these areas is essential to living successfully in our pluralistic society. The basic skills form the core curriculum design and a variety of ethnically specific materials are selected as the means or vehicles through which these skills are taught. (p.100)

The conceptual approach states that multiethnic curricula should be designed around a series of concepts selected from multiple disciplines which can be applied to all ethnic group experiences. This approach uses a conceptual framework for organizing the explosion of knowledge about ethnic groups. Gay (1977) explained the approach as follows:

Learning experiences are organized around a series of generic concepts selected from different disciplines and applicable to all ethnic group experiences. These might include such concepts as power, ethnicity, unity within diversity, culture, socialization, racism, alienation, assimilation, and morality. Others can be selected from the social sciences, the behavioral sciences, linguistics and communication and philosophy.

In addition to identifying a series of generic concepts the conceptual framework approach to multicultural curriculum development involves selecting specific supportive concepts for each generic concept; listing major and minor generalizations derived from the concepts; identifying general and performance objectives for each concept; and selecting appropriate multicultural content, learning experiences, and instructional strategies to teach the concepts. It too lends itself easily to such instructional techniques as multiethnic perspectives, interdisciplinary approaches, and comparative analyses. Students are instructed in applied concept mastery in that concepts are studied from the vantage point of the perspectives and experiences of different ethnic groups instead of as abstract principles. (p.102)

The curriculum design that uses themes as organizing principles to characterize the human condition, the social realities and cultural experiences of ethnic groups was referred to as the thematic approach. Gay stated that students must have a way of processing the mass of information about ethnic groups in a context that is meaningful and manageable. She claimed that a thematic approach to curriculum development offers such a device. She further claimed that the mere memorization of facts and chronology about ethnic groups was insufficient to develop ethnic literacy. She commented on the thematic approach:

Using the thematic approach to curriculum design allows for a multitude of materials, experiences, and techniques to be interwoven into multicultural education programs. Understanding the complex multifarious nature of each of the themes requires the use of knowledge, concepts, and principles from many different disciplines. Thus interdisciplinary techniques, comparative analyses, and multiethnic perspectives are necessary in examining each theme to determine what it means to different ethnic groups, how they have responded to it, and to ascertain others' reactions to their responses. For students to adequately explore ethnic groups' search for identity they will have to examine ideologies, values, behaviors, and communications of each. (p.101)

These themes were referred to as recurring issues having to do with both personal development and the improvement of the quality of life.

The cultural components approach to curriculum reform focuses on those characteristics of different ethnic groups that combine to form unique cultural traditions. The branching design approach is an organizing technique for making ethnic content more comprehensible, cohesive and pervasive throughout the

school's total instructional program. This is achieved by taking an idea, concept, issue, or problem pertinent to ethnic groups that is being studied in one subject area and extending it to another. The two curriculum design strategies that Gay (1977) claimed were the most capable of meeting the criteria of multicultural education were the conceptual framework design and the thematic approach. It would seem appropriate that one of these design strategies be the vehicle utilized in Saskatchewan as the method chosen for the implementation of the concept of cultural literacy in the core curriculum.

Gay also concurred with Banks that factual information is important but should be viewed as a tool in the development of concepts and generalizations about ethnic groups. Gay (1975) identified some global objectives which she considered applicable to all situations:

These include helping students to develop skills in ethnic knowledge comprehension, reflective self-analysis, clarification of racial attitudes and values, comparative analyses of ethnic and cultural phenomena, and eliminating the ethnic isolation and psychological captivity resulting from distorted attitudes about ethnicity. (p.177)

Gay also indicated that culturally pluralistic curricula should seek to eliminate ethnic illiteracy and enable students to function in different ethnic settings and be politically and socially active.

Banks (1980) presented a typology of cross-cultural competency and discussed the characteristics that social studies curricula must have in order to increase students' levels of

cross-cultural competency and ethnic and cultural literacy. He stated that a cross-cultural competency oriented social studies curriculum must:

(a) be based on a multiethnic ideology, (b) be implemented within a school and classroom environment that values and reflects ethnic diversity, (c) help students to view and interpret concepts, events and issues from different ethnic perspectives, (d) reflect and help students to understand the complex nature of ethnicity within ... society, and (e) reflect the stages of ethnicity among students and help them to function at increasingly higher stages of ethnicity. (p.114)

The Role of Education

Many authors and researchers have stressed the role of the school and curriculum development in promoting social harmony and positive change. Loving (1972) contended that Americans are a rational group of people. He stated:

Because we are rational we recognize that it is through curriculum that we must help the young people of America to understand the concepts of America ... As leaders in education, as curriculum developers, and supervisors of the process of learning, we have a responsibility to bring about the educational change in a realistic manner. (pp.46-47)

Shockley (1975) spoke of overcoming the hindrances to ethnic pluralism by affirming the belief that the nation is composed of groups as well as individuals. He called for a celebration of differences that would clear the way for multicultural acceptance. Loving (1972) agreed with Shockley when he stated:

The school has a responsibility ... to help children and young adults to understand the sub-cultures, to understand that these are all humans, that there are strengths involved in being part of any one or combination of sub-cultures. (p.51)

King (1980) stated that, if awareness of ethnic identification and heritage is a goal in education, then skills must be developed for acquiring such sensitivities and knowledge. This is the process that educators have labeled ethnic literacy which has been defined as a knowledge of the role and function ethnicity has in our daily lives, in our society, and in our transactions, locally, regionally and transnationally. Ethnic literacy also encompasses understandings of intergroup relations and ethnic conflict. King stressed that developing ethnic literacy with children calls upon educators to acquaint themselves with the traditions of the home and family. A lack of recognition of the culture and heritage that a child brings to the school was viewed as a serious educational deficiency; one that ethnic literacy could overcome.

Houston (1975) indicated that the schools must provide the leadership dedicated to effecting important and overdue reforms that will assure that future curricula will be designed to assist minority students in developing more positive images of themselves. In addition, they should help students to respect and accept ethnic and cultural differences as a part of the fabric of society. As succinctly stated in Noar (1972), pride in one's race and one's self is the basis of a positive self-concept, without which the student is unable to find his identity and function effectively. Various studies have indicated that self-concept is significantly related to academic achievement for "disadvantaged" as well as other students (Coleman, 1966; Coard, 1971; Milner, 1973 & 1975 and others). Most of these authors

related self-concept or self-esteem with a sense of personal worth. Bhatnagar (1982) stated that the Canadian government recognized that not only is a high level of self-esteem toward membership in one's cultural group necessary for wholesome and healthy development of the individual, it is also a prerequisite for harmonious and cooperative intergroup relations. Bagley et al. (1979) and Burns (1976) indicated that self-esteem and self-concept are of crucial importance in understanding an individual's attitudes to the world around him and the people in it. Schwartz (1975) also indicated what role the school and curriculum should play in promoting self-esteem.

Schools are in an ideal position to redress many of the injustices that have historically been thrust upon the racially and ethnically different. Through an emphasis on cultural pluralism, they can foster a child's favorable identification with his or her own family and culture; they can reduce racial-ethnic self-hatred, increase self-esteem; and they can create greater tolerance for cultural diversity. (p.89)

Lloyd & Wyatt (1982), in examining case studies of programs to assist teachers to be effective in multicultural communities, also indicated that pride, self-esteem, respect and appreciation of one's own language, culture, community and family are fundamental to educational and social success. Students must have these before they are able to select from the options that society has to offer them. They further stated:

Teachers are powerful models and have a key role to play as facilitators. They can assist students in choosing from alternatives and having opportunities for educational and social success. Doing this requires that teachers themselves value the students' backgrounds and that they see

diversity as an educational resource. Only then can they integrate multicultural approaches into the curriculum and model the attitudes and interpersonal relations that will allow for equal opportunity. (p.91)

Banks (1972) similarly concluded that the most important variable in the learning environment of the child is the teacher. The attitudes and expectations of the teacher have a profound effect on how students perceive, how well they learn, what they believe and how they feel about themselves. Houston (1975) stated:

Through a multiethnically-oriented curriculum with leadership involving multicultural situations, all children can develop an appreciation for themselves and others who are different and human. Children must be taught so that they will readily recognize their worth as individuals and the worth of others, no matter from which culture they come. Quality leadership dedicated to attaining multicultural acceptance and recognition must be our goal. (p.202)

Macdonald (1971) also stated the desirability of including local cultural variation in the curriculum. He mentioned the fact that national curriculum projects have a broad social effect that, in combination with the mass media, serve to diminish the influence of the local community. He stated:

In essence, what is being said is that the cultural content of the curriculum should reflect a pluralistic cultural value position, and that local cultural variation is a relevant consideration in the selection and organization of content in the curriculum. (p.109)

Adachi (1975) and Arcinega (1975) both recognized the need for the development of a multicultural curriculum in the schools. Arciniega, like Banks, indicated that the acceptance of cultural pluralism as the organizing *modus operandi* must begin with the

outright rejection of the assimilationist tradition in the public schools. The schools must openly affirm cultural, ethnic, and linguistic differences as good and positive resources that are worthy of enhancing. Since cultural diversity is a fact of life, programs should be reorganized and teaching staffs reoriented to capitalize on those differences. Hunter (1974) has stated that the AACTE, along with other teacher training endorsement agencies, have suggested that teacher training programs include multicultural experiences.

The AACTE (1973) policy statement on multicultural education aptly summarized the type of response called for in moving toward such a reality. The statement was contained in Hunter (1974):

To endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American. To endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. It is to see these differences as a positive force in the continuing development of a society which professes a wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual. Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accomodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts. (p.21)

Strategies for the Advancement of Cultural Literacy: A Curricular Approach

Valverde (1978) stated that multiethnic and pluralistic education should not be regarded as compensatory education for children who are culturally "different". He set forth some strategies for the advancement of cultural pluralism and multiethnic education. He stated that school district leaders

have a responsibility to accept the need for multicultural education as a valid instructional endeavor and provide comprehensive planning to include it in all areas of the curriculum. As racial and ethnic minorities are brought into the mainstream, culturally pluralistic programs must be incorporated into the general school program to accomodate them.

A wide range of studies in Britain have contributed to the literature on multicultural curriculum development for the promotion of cultural literacy. Jeffcoate (1979) defined a multicultural curriculum as one in which choice of content reflects the multicultural nature of British society and the world and draws, in a significant way, on the experiences of British racial minorities and cultures overseas. Jeffcoate justified the need for a multicultural curriculum on four observations. First that British society suffers from an endemic disease, racism. He argued that because the influence of racism is so pervasive and pernicious, schools have a clear duty to make an effort at promoting racial self-respect and inter-racial understanding. Second, racial minorities, as a matter of group rights, are entitled to expect that their cultures will be positively and prominently represented in the school curriculum. Third, there is the traditional view that a fundamental task of the school is to expose students to an accurate picture of society which includes other races and cultures. Fourth, a multicultural curriculum involves students in more interesting, challenging and stimulating learning experiences than one which is not. Both Jeffcoate (1979) and Craft (1984) noted that the

curriculum has the potential for providing both social continuity and for engendering social change. What is particularly interesting about this dichotomy is the manner in which educational systems must strike a balance between educating for variety and educating for conformity, providing for difference and for similarity, and for ensuring diversity but also cohesion. Craft (1984) stated that cultural pluralism, especially ethnicity, produces great tension between educating for diversity and educating for consensus; for not only is a plural society more diverse, but it also has a greater need for conformity and a greater natural resistance to it. Craft demonstrated an agreement with the work of Banks and others when he stated:

Here in Britain, educationalists have to address themselves to both tasks: the celebration of this enriching new diversity, and the conveying of a core of common beliefs and sentiments. This represents a substantial challenge. For educationalists have to decide at what point the acculturation necessary for full participation in society becomes a repressive assimilation; and at what point the celebration of diversity ceases to enrich and becomes potentially divisive. (p.23)

Jeffcoate (1979) similarly identified two contrasting functions of the school that might be served by the multicultural curriculum: transmitting culture or transforming culture. He advocated a transformationist position in arguing for the promotion of a new viable common culture that of necessity would involve opening the "cultural heritage" to critical reevaluation. His philosophy differed from the positions of many American authors in that he viewed the primary task of the school as developing those skills in its students which a child-centered

philosophy of education would regard as indispensable to children becoming autonomous. The aim then should be to make students critically aware of their own and other cultures and equip them to decide for themselves how much to retain and what to value.

Lynch (1982), Bullivant (1981) and Skilbeck (1980, 1981) stressed the need to have aspects of a common culture passed on to each generation that would involve a core of basic and essential learnings required of all pupils that would embody multicultural experiences and ideals. They raised the valid and pertinent question, related to the concept of a common essential learning in a Saskatchewan context, of how decisions are arrived at regarding inclusion or exclusion of material in the curriculum. They also took note of the problems that could be generated for the local school in their need for adaptive and creative curricularizing so that they do not become divorced from their communities. Bantock (1980) also took note of the problem of provision of a common core when differentiation may be necessary to achieve greater equality of opportunity for ethnic and racial minorities. Banks (1981) also noted that, while the curriculum for excluded and dominant ethnic groups should have many elements in common, the central message these groups receive should in some cases differ.

Lawton (1975) also called for a common culture curriculum followed by all students, but allowing for different levels of achievement. Craft (1984) also stated that a common culture curriculum should be for all children in a multicultural society.

McEwen (1983) noted that in Britain a topic approach to

multicultural curriculum had been prevalent.

Although there are some very successful examples, attempts to construct a multicultural curriculum in British schools have tended to exist as topics tacked on to the traditional curriculum which are assumed to be of interest to the students and are presented in a didactic fashion. Such an approach cannot succeed because firstly, it fails to recognize that multiculturalism represents a challenge to teachers and students to re-appraise the nature of education and the curriculum and secondly, the pedagogic and curricular strategies which have been employed have tended to alienate students from whichever cultural or ethnic group has felt threatened or neglected. (pp.184-185)

Cohen & Manion (1983) also stated that, in terms of curriculum tactics, a sounder approach is to construct a learning program around regular themes drawing from a variety of cultures for source materials with which all students can identify.

Little & Willey (1979) commented that the 1979 Schools Council Survey indicated that more recent emphasis in Britain had shifted from an "adding on" approach to the notion that an awareness of Britain's multicultural society should permeate the normal curriculum, and that this has relevance for the overall approach to teaching at the primary and secondary levels. Willey (1982) also noted that a third of the Local Educational Authorities had commented in 1979 that action to promote racial understanding needed to be extended across the whole curriculum. Willey (1984) noted that in Britain there had been a significant change in overall policy related to multiculturalism. Broad multicultural objectives had been laid down and had shifted toward perceiving minority ethnic groups in British society as a positive feature to be stressed in the education of all children. However, he

also noted that, while significant developments had taken place in the educational response to cultural diversity such as the "whole schools" approach (refers to the ethos of the school in the light of its multicultural character) that many schools had adopted, there was still a limited concerted action to secure systematic change in all schools that would give pupils a positive awareness of cultural diversity.

Walkling (1980) identified three problems associated with a curriculum of general education. First, which of any group's valued beliefs or practises ought to be included? Second, if education is the development of reason, then it is necessary to consider whether there are fundamental conceptual or procedural differences in the thoughts of different groups and, if there are, whether these should be opposed, ignored, tolerated, or encouraged. Third, should a multicultural education confirm the child in a particular way of life, or give him independence within a wider, transcultural form of life? In Walking's conclusion, he wrote:

The possibility of a pluralistic society depends upon the possibility of understanding people and their beliefs. It must, if it is to be worth anything at all, provide a dynamic context in which people's beliefs are exchanged, defended, argued about, converted, retained, assessed, ignored ostentatiously, and so on: all the reactions people have to the beliefs of other people whom they take seriously. Extreme relativism or transmissionism in a curriculum imply a sort of cultural protectionism. When encouraged by the wider society outside the particular minority group they imply either blank hostility or a patronising refusal to take the group seriously.

Withdrawal from society, in the forms of alienation, anomie or cultural isolationism, is the greatest threat to a multicultural society. It is avoided by engagement, which, in education involves the pursuit of responsibility and individuality. (p.95)

Jeffcoate (1976, pp.196-197), while espousing the primacy of objectives in curriculum planning for a multicultural education, suggested in the form of a Bloom classification what they might be:

(A) Respect for Others:

Cognitive (knowledge)

All pupils should know:

- the basic facts of race and racial difference;
- the customs, values and beliefs of the main cultures represented in Britain and, more particularly, of those forming the local community;
- why different groups have immigrated into Britain in the past and how the local community has come to acquire its present ethnic composition.

Cognitive (skills)

All pupils should be able to:

- detect stereotyping and scapegoating in what they see, hear and read;
- evaluate their own cultures objectively.

Affective (attitudes, values and emotional sets)

All pupils should accept;

- the uniqueness of each individual human being;
- the underlying humanity we share;
- the principles of equal rights and justice;
- and value the achievements of other cultures and nations;
- strangeness without feeling threatened;
- that Britain is, always has been and always will be a multicultural society;
- that no culture is ever static and that constant mutual accommodation will be required of all cultures making up an evolving multicultural society;
- that prejudice and discrimination are widespread in Britain and the historical and socioeconomic causes which have given rise to them;
- the damaging effect of prejudice and discrimination on the rejected groups;
- the possibility of developing multiple loyalties.

(B) Respect for Self:

Cognitive (knowledge)

All pupils should know:

the history and achievements of their own culture and what is distinctive about it.

Cognitive (skills)

All pupils should be able to:
communicate efficiently in English and, if it is not their mother tongue, in their own mother tongue;
master the other basic skills necessary for success at school.

Affective (attitudes, values and emotional sets)

All pupils should have developed:
a positive self-image;
confidence in their sense of their own identity.

Summary

The various definitions of literacy encountered in the literature displayed either implicit or explicit assumptions about the purpose of literacy. It was, however, often connected to social control and political and economic power. Several authors also noted that the single most compelling fact about literacy is that it is an outcome of cultural transmission. Conceptions of literacy have also varied considerable over time. Various standards have been applied to the concept of literacy in the past, each one has been progressively more demanding than the preceding one and each, being initially applied to only a few individuals in society, became more universal in a later period. Each successive period also involved a heightening of qualitative standards of literacy to encompass higher order cognitive skills. The concept of a culturally literate population represents a natural progression in the historical development of literacy education. It, however, also represents a shift from an emphasis on the expansion of cognitive skills to

an inclusion of skills necessary to function effectively in a pluralistic society - the skills of a culturally literate person. Cultural literacy being defined in this context as those cognitions, attitudes and skills necessary for an individual to become a functional and productive member of a multicultural society.

The literature reviewed revealed a whole range of issues related to a definition of cultural literacy and its application to a core curriculum. Those issues were philosophical, ideological, political, sociological, pedagogic and pragmatic in nature. Most, however, revolved around the apparent dichotomy that exists between one's perception of the nature of society - melting pot or mosaic? The literature suggested two general focuses for a definition of cultural literacy. The first was a narrow focus that stressed the acculturative aspects of literacy education. This focus was based on two misleading and incomplete conceptualizations of society: Anglo-conformity and the melting pot. Advocates espoused the acquisition of a common canon or creed by all citizens and promoted the full socialization of all individuals and groups into the common civic culture. This common canon involved a shared body of knowledge, skills, institutions, values, attitudes and heritage. They stated that a certain amount of shared, canonical knowledge is inherently necessary to a literate population in a democracy. The case was presented for a shared, heterogeneous national curriculum based on the "traditional" curriculum. It was argued that the decline in the national literacy level was causally related to the

decline in the commonly shared knowledge acquired in school. Several authors claimed that the emphasis on educational formalism and cultural pluralism had led to an increasing cultural fragmentation in the curricula and a loss of a common content core that had promoted the establishment of enclaves of ethnic and cultural groups whose individual members were unable to communicate with members of different groups. The result, it was claimed, was a national population unable to communicate among its differing interest and ethnic groups which tended to retard political discussion and technical and economic effectiveness. It was further claimed that schools had successfully integrated all members of society in the past through the vehicle of a commonly defined national culture and that the "new" pluralism had destroyed that. Other authors disputed the existence in the past of a common culture. The assimilationists greatly understated the role of ethnicity.

The second focus was a broader one that, unlike the assimilationists previously described, addressed itself to the task of educating for both consensus, cohesion and conformity and for a celebration of the diversity represented by a rainbow of ethnic and cultural groups. It emphasized not only a common cultural core, but also those differences exhibited by ethnic and cultural groups that enrich a multicultural society. The key question that educationalists have to decide is at what point the acculturation necessary for full participation in society becomes a repressive assimilation and at what point the celebration of cultural diversity ceases to enrich and becomes

potentially divisive, dysfunctional and counterproductive.

Advocates of an expanded definition of cultural literacy recognized its multicultural implications. They generally indicated that recognition of areas of cultural discontinuity and continuity provides the foundation for cultural literacy. It was felt that an understanding of one's own ethnicity and that of others contributed to effective communication cross-culturally rather than detracting from it as claimed by the assimilationists. Within this broad pluralist focus were two differing ideologies: the cultural pluralist and the pluralist-assimilationist. A number of authors claimed that cultural pluralists exaggerated the importance of the ethnic group in the socialization of the individual and placed too much emphasis on it in the curriculum. The pluralist-assimilationists on the other hand were identified as those who believe that cultural literacy should involve both an understanding of the common culture and ethnic cultures.

It would seem logical to conclude that, given the trends in North America and Britain, a definition of cultural literacy and its inclusion into a common essential learning should be founded on the broader focus of a pluralist-assimilationist ideology as described by Banks. Curricula that reflects this broad focus should be broadly conceptualized and comprehensive, include content from all ethnic cultures, be interdisciplinary and multidimensional, have a thematic or comparative orientation, reflect current learning theory and research, recognize varying degrees of diversity and assimilation within ethnic groups, be integrated into a wide-range of subject areas, foster ethnic pride

and enhance individual self-esteem, emphasize both cognitive and affective skills and stress similarities between groups and our common humanity.

Based on the review of the literature examined in this report, the following definition of cultural literacy is suggested.

Cultural literacy is the recognition or awareness of one's own culture or ethnicity and cultural continuities and discontinuities that exist between cultures. It is the development of a clarified cultural self-identity, positive attitudes toward self and other cultural, ethnic and racial groups, and personal self-actualization. The culturally literate individual has the ability to function, at least at a minimal level, within several cultural environments and is able to understand, appreciate and share the values, symbols, and institutions of several cultures. It is the development of multicultural perspectives and feelings which enables the individual to live a more enriched and fulfilled life and involves the ability to formulate creative and novel solutions to personal and social problems.

Cultural literacy as a concept can best be fitted into the core curriculum in Saskatchewan by the pluralization of all curricula and instruction through the use of either themes or concepts, as described in this report by Banks (1977), Cohen & Manion (1983) and (Gay (1977), that are applied in all subject areas in an interdisciplinary and comparative manner. The learning experiences of students designed to develop the basic skills of cultural literacy could be organized around a series of generic concepts that have been selected from various disciplines and are applicable to all ethnic group experiences. This conceptual framework approach would also involve the selection of specific supportive concepts for each generic concept, the

identification of general and performance objectives for each concept, and the selection of appropriate multicultural content, learning experiences and instructional strategies. In this approach students would be instructed in applied concept mastery from the vantage point of the perspectives and experiences of various cultural groups rather than as abstract principles. Experiential activities could play an important role in the development of positive cross cultural attitudes and effective communication skills.

The thematic approach would involve the use of themes as organizing principles in the characterization of the human condition and the social realities and cultural experiences of ethnic groups. This would provide students with an effective and manageable method for organizing information about ethnic groups. The use of themes to develop cultural literacy would require students to use concepts, knowledge and principles from many different disciplines in a comparative manner through multicultural perspectives. Students would have to examine the ideologies, behaviors, values and communications of a variety of cultural groups.

Cultural literacy can serve as an excellent means to help students enhance their conception of humanity and their self-image and to better understand and evaluate their own and other ethnic groups and cultures. It can improve their ability to communicate with other individuals in a cross cultural context and their ability to live in a harmony with members of different groups. Cultural literacy as a fundamental part of the core

curriculum, in the context of a common essential learning, can prevent ethnic polarization and the dehumanization of our society.

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CHAPTER 2

THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON EDUCATION

Introduction to Individual Learning Styles

There exists a substantial body of research which indicates that there is a range of individual differences in personal learning styles (Dunn, K., 1981, 1982; Dunn, R., 1971, 1978, 1980, 1981; Dunn & Dunn, 1975, 1978, 1979; Dunn & Price, 1980; Dunn & Shockley, 1970, 1971; Domino, 1970; Farr, 1971; Griggs & Price, 1979, 1981; Hunt, 1982; Hunt & Gow, 1984; Keefe, 1979; Kolb, 1976; Lemmon, 1982; Wheeler, 1980). Educators know that the child learns better when instruction is suited to his or her uniqueness as a person. It seems that we are reasonably well attuned to the role of individual perceptual and psychological differences in learning. However, we often overlook or are less clear about the role of cultural endowments. Often as not, instead of according cultural differences among students recognition and respect, we have tended to use cultural characteristics negatively for the purpose of sorting "promising" students from the "unpromising".

Brembeck & Hill (1973) identified four reasons why psychological and cultural characteristics elicit such different responses from educators. First, much more is known about the nature of psychological differences. The focus of past scholarship and research has been mainly on the person as an individual rather than as an integral part of a larger environment of family, community, ethnic group, race, or social class. Second, psychological characteristics are more easily controlled and studied than less manageable cultural characteristics where variables extend beyond the controlled

setting of the psychological laboratory and classroom. Third, cultural differences are more value-laden than psychological differences and are thus controversial and less "safe" to deal with. Finally, and perhaps the main reason why these two types of aptitudes have been regarded so differently, cultural differences have been regarded as transitory and on their way to being assimilated in the "melting pot". The fallacy of the melting pot and the failure of assimilationist policy was documented in the first part of this report. Cultural factors will not disappear and must be taken seriously and reckoned with as major factors in the child's learning. Instead of ignoring or suppressing cultural differences, it is time we ask how cultural aptitudes might be used to support and enhance a child's learning experience in our schools. Such a philosophy points to major new advances in the effectiveness of teaching instruction for all sectors of our student population and not just the culturally "different".

Individual Learning Styles

Dunn & Dunn (1979) have noted that not only do people of all ages and intellectual capacities learn in ways that are different, but certain students are able to achieve only through specific methods - methods that often do not produce academic results for others. Data from their experiments repeatedly revealed that when students were taught with methods that complemented their learning characteristics students at all

levels became increasingly motivated and achieved better academically. Farr (1971) verified that significant improvement in both student achievement and motivation was gained when learning and teaching styles were matched. Farr noted that students are capable of accurately predicting the modality in which they could demonstrate superior learning performance. Her data also revealed that it may be advantageous to learn and be tested in the same modality and that such an advantage is reduced when conducted in a non-preferred modality. Domino's (1970) experimental data revealed that students who had been exposed to a teaching style consonant with their perceived learning style scored higher on tests, fact knowledge, attitude, and efficiency of work than those who had been taught in a manner dissonant with their orientation.

Dunn (1982) stated that the study of learning styles is not new, but can be traced to the 1890's when studies about learning modalities or perceptual strengths were first conducted. He noted:

Use of information about student learning styles for the design and delivery of instruction is not a fad; school districts and teachers have used principles incorporated in the concept of learning styles (cognitive style, modality teaching, learning preferences, cognitive mapping, global-analytic thought processes, field dependence or field independence preferences, and individual preferences for structure or flexibility) for more than 20 years with positive results. (p.11)

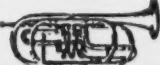
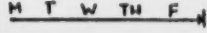
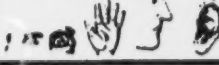
Dunn noted that dozens of research studies conducted since the mid-1960's, that used diagnostic data about learning styles, have reported significant increases in academic performance,

improved student self-images, or reduced discipline problems such as "acting out", "cutting", tardiness, truancy, vandalism or out-of-school criminal activities. From that body of research Rita and Kenneth Dunn developed a framework of five basic stimuli and twenty-one elements for diagnosing learning styles. (See the following diagram.) The five stimuli were identified as environmental, emotional, sociological, physical, and psychological. It would seem reasonable to suggest that a sixth stimulus category be included, that of cultural. This would reflect emerging evidence that cultural factors impinge upon both teaching and learning styles. This would allow for the matching of instructional resources with the student characteristics identified and assist those students who have not responded to traditional strategies of curriculum delivery and teaching instruction.

Introduction to Learning Styles and Ethnicity

There is an emerging body of research which suggests that perceptions, values, expectations, behavioral patterns, cognitive learning styles, and other cultural components are in some ways related to ethnicity (Abrahams & Troike, 1972; Allen, 1970; Baratz, 1969; Baratz & Baratz, 1969, 1970; Cole & Bruner, 1972; Dumont & Wax, 1969; Gonzalez, 1982; Kleinfeld, 1973a, 1973b, 1975; Longstreet, 1978; Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974; Shade, 1982; Stodolsky & Lesser, 1967; Wax et al., 1964; Wax et al., 1969; Wax & Thomas, 1961; Williams, 1970). While the research is not sufficiently definitive to be prescriptive, it is adequate to

DIAGNOSING LEARNING STYLES

STIMULI	ELEMENTS			
ENVIRONMENTAL	SOUND 	LIGHT 	TEMPERATURE 	DESIGN 
EMOTIONAL	MOTIVATION 	PERSISTENCE 	RESPONSIBILITY 	STRUCTURE 
SOCIOLOGICAL	PEERS 	SELF 	PAIR 	TEAM 
PHYSICAL	PERCEPTUAL 	INTAKE 	TIME 	MOBILITY 
PSYCHOLOGICAL	ANALYTIC 	GLOBAL 	CEREBRAL DOMINANCE 	IMPULSIVE 
				REFLECTIVE 

DESIGNED BY: RITA DUNN
KENNETH DUNN

alert educators and curriculum developers to the need to be more sensitive to student differences related to their ethnicity.

Banks et al. (1976) noted that all students in a multiethnic school cannot be treated identically and still be afforded equal educational opportunity. Ramirez & Castaneda (1974) also noted that emerging evidence on ethnicity and cognitive styles suggests that if all students are treated alike, they are probably being denied equal educational opportunity. Children, in addition to their individual learning styles, do have unique ethnic characteristics that the school must respond to in a creative, sensitive and deliberate manner.

Banks et al. (1976) stated that the school's culture and its instructional programs should be modified, where applicable, to suit the cultures and divergent learning styles of children from different ethnic and social class groups. Research by Ramirez & Castaneda (1974) and Kleinfeld (1975) indicated that the instructional styles and learning strategies most often utilized in American schools are not consistent with the cognitive styles and cultural characteristics of some groups of minority students. They noted that some ethnic minority students, such as Mexican Americans, Inuit, and Indians respond more effectively to cooperative rather than to competitive learning environments. Abrahams & Gay (1972) noted that other ethnic minority students such as Afro-Americans respond positively to active rather than passive learning situations. Stodolsky & Lesser (1967) and Lesser et al. (1965) have indicated that ethnicity influences students' cognitive patterns of processing information which they

claimed has instructional implications.

If multiculturalism is to be an integral part of education, then attention must be further focused on those aspects of culture that most directly affect learning.

Learning Styles and Ethnicity

The research considered here reflects the influence of culture on learning style in ethnic minority students. According to Clark (1967), learning styles can be categorized as visual (reading), aural (listening), or physical (doing things). Kogan (1977) stated that cognitive learning styles or ways of perceiving, interpreting, and ordering the objects and concepts of the external world are complex and numerous. Laosa (1977) stated that understanding cognitive style may be particularly important for teachers working in the area of multicultural education.

Opportunities to learn that take into account the child's preferred learning style are more likely to yield the most permanent learning. We all have our own best ways of learning or internalizing our experiences. As stated previously, there is emerging increasing evidence that learning styles are systematically related to particular social and ethnic group membership and cultural practices (Cazden & Leggett, 1976). Gonzalez (1982) commented on the use of culture specific characteristics in improving student learning:

In the past ten years, we have begun to understand that while minority cultures in our society share many

commonalities with the majority culture, minority cultures contain "culturemes," characteristics that are culture specific and different from those of the majority culture. We acknowledge the disparity and have even progressed to respect and like these cultures, but we must go further to capitalize cultural characteristics in our classrooms to improve learning. (p.20)

A key challenge in assessing how to teach a particular student is how much of a student's learning style is related to his ethnicity or culture and how much is due to his or her individual personality. Longstreet (1978, p. 63) defined ethnicity as "that part of cultural development which occurs prior to the onset of a child's abstract intellectual powers as a result of his direct, personal contacts with the people around him and with his immediate environment". To enhance the student's learning experience, teachers should take into account the child's cultural and ethnic background. Ideally, the goal of all teachers should be to respond to their students as individuals and not merely to view them as cultural or ethnic representatives.

Longstreet identified among the critical sources of cultural conflict in the schools: expected modes of verbal and nonverbal communication, time orientations, preferred modes of learning and social values. Longstreet (1978, pp. 68-70) also described six behavioral patterns that affect how learning takes place and that may be influenced by culture: (1) the child's manner of participating in activities; (2) the attention given to activities; (3) the ways in which information is processed; (4) the manner in which the child's thoughts are presented to others;

(5) the way in which the child asks questions; and (6) the kinds of questions the child asks. Bennett (1981) stated that given the reality of cultural diversity, schools must recognize that many of our fellow citizens have perceptions, values, and customs that are different from those of the mainstream Anglo culture. She noted that, while cultural diversity can be a source of great strength, differences can lead to greater ethnocentrism, polarization and conflict if not dealt with sensitively.

Burger (1973a) noted some of the differences which distinguish one culture from another and how this relates to students' learning and the teaching styles used to educate them. Burger found characteristic differences in value orientations with respect to such matters as cognition, affect, psychomotion, communication, the use of time, social organization and the sense of environmental controls. He suggested that an understanding of these cultural differences may be used in the classroom to enhance the learning of ethnic-background students. Burger noted that many social scientists have indicated that Anglo culture emphasizes cognition and deemphasizes affect and psychomotion, as compared with other cultures. This has been corroborated by the work of Dumont & Wax (1969), Kleinfeld (1975), Wax et al. (1964), Wax & Thomas (1961) and Wax & Wax (1968). Burger also noted that ethnic differences that exist in communication manifest themselves in a variety of ways, including dialects, gestures, vocabulary, the social context of language and bilingualism. He also noted that in addition to language differences between cultures there are also differences in body motion and semiotics.

Dentler (1967) and Orr & Pulsipher (1967) both demonstrated that student achievement is influenced mainly by family conditioning, personal motivation, and the social climate of the school and that these major sources of academic success or failure are inextricably connected with race or ethnicity. Ramsay et al. (1982) also conducted a study that clearly demonstrated the importance of a positive multicultural school climate to students' levels of achievement. Saville-Troike (1978) also stated that the attitudes and motivations of students and their parents, many of which are culture-specific, clearly effect learning. Vasquez (1979) indicated that ethnic minority students often differ from mainstream students in their motivational systems and styles of learning. Ethnic minorities such as Mexican-Americans tend to be more internally than externally controlled. The opposite is true for mainstream American students. Externally controlled students believe that they can do little to determine their own success or failure because it is primarily controlled by factors outside their control. Internally controlled students believe that they can control their own destinies. Vasquez noted that most motivational techniques used by teachers are more effective with internal rather than external students.

The manner in which new information is processed differs from one culture to another. Some children learn more readily by observing an activity closely for a long period of time. Cazden & John (1971), John-Steiner & Osterreich (1975), and Stodolsky & Lesser (1967) indicated that visual modality is a relatively

stronger learning style for Chinese and Native students than for Puerto Ricans and Anglos. John (1972) suggested that Navajo children have highly developed visual discrimination and fine motor skills and learn mainly to absorb the world through sight and touch. Teaching strategies that emphasized demonstration and materials that utilized active manipulation have shown to be most suited to the majority of the Navajo children's already developed learning strategies.

Witkin et al. (1977) concluded that understanding of cognitive learning style is particularly important for educators since such styles influence the learning of both social and cognitive material, the effects of reinforcement, cue salience, the use of mediators in learning, student-teacher interactions, teachers' instructional styles, choice of careers, academic achievement and sex differences in specialization and achievement.

An important part of the concept of cognitive styles involves the area of field dependence-independence. A field dependent person makes more use of the overall context in learning and processing information. A field independent person is able to orient himself in space despite the presence of distorting stimuli and has the ability to clearly distinguish between figure and ground no matter how complex the two might be. Field-independent students are more often preferred by teachers and tend to get higher grades than field-sensitive students. Witkin (1967) predicted and other studies confirmed that field dependence-independence is related to a wide range of social,

behavioral, and personal characteristics. Studies of cross-cultural cognitive style and psychological differentiation by Berry (1976, 1977) concluded that the greater the emphasis in the culture on socialization for conformity, the greater the amount of perceptual field-dependence. Witkin & Goodenough (1977) noted that field dependent people make greater use of external social cues in their environment, prefer to be physically close to people, show stronger interest in people, are emotionally more open, gravitate towards socially constructed situations more and get along better with people compared to field independent people. Field independent people, on the other hand, have greater facility in cognitive analysis and structuring.

Witkin & Goodenough emphasized the importance of educators' awareness of their own cognitive styles and that of their students so that learning can be maximized. Serpell (1976) and Wagner (1978) also stressed that there is a dynamic relationship between schooling practices and field-independence. They claimed that some schooling influences students in a field-independent direction. The major question of importance to this analysis is to what degree, if any, is field dependence-independence related to ethnicity?

Buriel (1975), Cohen (1969), Holtzman et al. (1975), Kagan & Buriel (1977), Ramirez & Castenada (1974), Ramirez & Price-Williams (1974) and Witkin (1967) indicated that Mexican-Americans may be more field dependent than Anglo-Americans. Amir (1972) and others have found that Jewish immigrant children from Middle Eastern countries are more

field-dependent than those from Western countries. Bagley & Verma (1982) studied Jamaican, Japanese and East Indian children. They found significant differences in field dependence-independence among the three ethnic groups with the most field dependent being Japanese children in both Japan and England. The study also found that: (1) field dependence and poor self esteem are connected only in children whose need for group support and affiliation, and group situations in the school context, are not being met, and (2) field independence and high self-esteem are connected only in children who have been socialized to operate independently of the group situation, and whose present family and school contexts provide positive reinforcement for their group independent of personality style.

There exists a number of nonverbal differences which exist between ethnic groups. While recognizing that these differences exist, one must be cautious about overgeneralizing, be cognizant that the differences may not apply to specific members of the ethnic group, and not overemphasize the differences. It is necessary, however, that educators be aware of these differences in their students because of the importance of nonverbal cues in face-to-face interactions where as much as 65% of the social content of a message is conveyed nonverbally. Barnlund (1968) observed:

Many, and sometimes most, of the critical meanings generated in human encounters are elicited by touch, glance, vocal nuance, gesture, or facial expression with or without the aid of words. From the moment of recognition until the moment of separation, people observe each other with all their senses, hearing pause and intonation, attending to

dress and carriage, observing glance and facial tension, as well as noting word choice and syntax. Every harmony or disharmony of signals guides the interpretation of passing mood or enduring attribute. Out of the evaluation of kinetic, vocal and verbal cues, decisions are made to argue or agree, to laugh or blush, to relax or resist, to continue or cut off conversation. (pp.536-537)

The key point to this observation is that because culture impacts on nonverbal communication patterns, educators should be aware of the unique characteristics of their students in this regard so as to prevent intercultural conflicts and misunderstandings. The following descriptions of intercultural differences were not meant to be comprehensive or conclusive, but to be illustrative.

A large number of researchers have noted cultural differences in children's perception of time (Holtzman et al., 1975; Hovey, 1975; Kehoe, 1984; Ramirez & Castenada, 1974; Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974; Samovar et al., 1981; Wax & Thomas, 1961). Different cultural groups experience the concept of time in different ways. A culture's concept of time is its philosophy toward the past, present, and future. It also includes the importance or lack of it that is placed on time. Most Western cultures have a concept of time that is lineal-spatial. Other cultures and subcultures may pay more or less attention to time. Werner et al. (1971) suggested that some minority ethnic children do poorly on performance tests because they are generally based on white, middle-class perceptions of time as minutes and hours. The differing perceptions of time held by ethnic students can be respected by pacing activities on an individual basis and by giving advance notice of transition

times, so that the student will have time to reorient his or her internal time mechanism.

Our understanding of and reaction to the use of silence is another aspect of culture that has an impact on the educational experience. Kuroiwa (1975) noted that some Asian-American children are taught to value silence and to avoid overt displays of emotion. Kleinfeld (1973a, 1975) noted a similar pattern for Inuit and Alaskan Indian students. Johannesen (1974), Kehoe (1984) and Wax & Thomas (1961) all noted the value placed on silence by Indians. Many ethnic group members who have been socialized with different value orientations toward silence are uncomfortable with the white, middle-class manner of spontaneous, verbal expression of emotion. Teachers should be aware of the cultural differences in concepts of silence that exist among their students and at least attempt to accomodate these through a variety of alternative avenues for the expression of feelings.

Eye contact and gaze is another area in which there are cultural differences. Rosenfeld & Civikly (1976) noted some of the differences with respect to particular ethnic groups:

To express hostility and disapproval of an authority figure, Blacks will stare and then quickly "roll their eyes" away from the authority, or "cut their eyes" toward the superior and keep them focused on this person ... Another kind of eye behavior common to the Black, Chicano, Native American, and Puerto Rican cultures is the avoidance of eye contact as a nonverbal sign of recognition and respect for the authority-subordinate relationship. (p.230)

This has been corroborated for Native Indians by Kehoe (1984) and Wax & Thomas (1961). Samovar et al. (1981) noted that in some

Far-Eastern cultures it is considered rude to look into another person's eyes during conversation. Arabs, on the other hand, because of their use of personal space, stand very close to their communication partners and stare directly into their eyes. The norm for most North Americans, with various qualifications, is to look directly into the eyes of the person being communicated with.

Burgoon & Saine (1878), Johnson (1971) and LaBarre (1976) examined cultural differences in kinesics, the systematic study of body movement. They noted a wide range of unique body movement patterns and the meanings attached to them across cultures. Ekman et al. (1969) and Ekman et al. (1971) noted cultural differences in facial expressions. Davis (1970) made the point that while anatomically similar expressions may occur in everyone the meaning attached to them differs from culture to culture. Samovar et al. (1981) and Rich (1974) identified all of the above factors and included such areas as general appearance and dress, touch, smell, gesture, and paralanguage. They noted the impact of culture in each of the identified areas.

Keesing & Keesing (1971) identified and Murdoch (1981) partially validated some persistent areas of culture which are likely to remain particularly stable and remain resistant to acculturative influences:

- (1) Essentials of nonverbal and verbal communication.
- (2) Concepts of living space and resource control, and associated in-group loyalty and political authority.
- (3) Staple foods, medicines, and some areas of transportation, housing and clothing.

(4) The manner in which superior statuses, roles, entrenched authority and "vested interests" are established.

(5) Social relations concerning such factors as sex, age, generations, child-rearing practices, and work patterns.

(6) Basic religious and intellectual assumptions concerning the importance and meaning of power, providence, existence, mortality and welfare.

(7) Mental sets such as curiosity, suspicion, enjoyment and friendliness.

(8) The use of energy, relaxation attitudes, sleeping patterns, and digesting and evacuating.

Kehoe (1984, p. 28) categorized a wide range of patterns of communicative and interpersonal styles that could be used as a model for examining persistent areas of culture. The categories of communicative style included: (1) nonverbal behavior, (2) praise, (3) requests for assistance, (4) speaking, (5) pause length, (6) listening skills, (7) topic control, (8) discourse styles, (9) topic centering/chaining, and (10) audience participation. The areas of interpersonal styles included: (1) child-rearing, (2) classroom management, (3) learning strategies, (4) friendliness, (5) interpersonal treatment, (6) social distance, (7) motivation, (8) task achievement, (9) social relations of dominance, (10) presentation of self, (11) individuality/competition, (12) politeness systems, and (13) maintaining face. Kehoe identified, in a comprehensive manner, some of these persistent areas of culture in a Canadian context by comparing the culture of the school and the cultures of Native

Indians in each of the above categories. Information concerning these persistent areas of differences or culturemes was gained from Bransford (1982), Cazden (1984), Kleinfeld (1975), Mehan (1979), Michaels & Cook-Gumperz (1979), Murdoch (1981), Philips (1974, 1976a), Scollon & Scollon (1980, 1981) and Sterling & Hebert (1984). This comprehensive analysis by Kehoe demonstrated a wide range of differences that exist between members of the majority culture and Native Indians. Similar in depth analyses are required for other ethnic and cultural groups in Canada with a view to pluralizing curriculum content and improving instructional styles.

Ogbu (1985) suggested that the school difficulties of ethnic minority students are often related to conflicts that exist between the culture and language of the school and that of the student. Erikson & Mohatt (1982) and Philips (1972, 1983) stated that minority children come to school with styles of learning, communicating and interacting with adults and their peers that are different from those expected in the classroom as based on the prevailing school climate. Ogbu (1985) stated that this discovery has been utilized to develop teaching approaches that are more effective and compatible to students' own styles. He noted, however, that current research is moving beyond identification of cultural and language difficulties between the schools and minorities and prescriptions of "cultural solutions" to the problems they generate.

Research by Gibson (1983) examined some of the reasons why culture and language conflicts appear to be temporary for some

minority groups. Ogbu (1984) and Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi (1985) examined why they appear more or less persistent for some other minority groups. Research in this area attempts to discover why and how some minorities are able to effectively overcome language and culture barriers and successfully learn to read, compute, etc., and why other groups experience difficulty. Ogbu (1985) stated that anthropological research has pointed out that minorities are characterized by at least two types of cultural-language differences. The first is "primary cultural differences" or those that existed before the group became a minority. Ogbu stated that minority students who come to school with primary cultural differences usually experience learning and social adjustment problems only initially. Gibson (1983) and Guthrie (1985) noted that such students eventually overcome these differences by learning the school culture and language expectations. The second is "secondary cultural differences" which arise after the groups have come into contact, especially where one group has become subordinate to the other. The subordinate or minority group develops new cultural ways of behaving, perceiving and feeling that enables them to cope with their exploitation and subordination. Ogbu (1985) stated that various descriptions of secondary cultural differences have indicated that they have more to do with style rather than content. Ramirez & Castenada (1974) and Sharde (1982) identified differences in cognitive style, Gumperz (1981) in communication style and Boykin (1980) and Philips (1976b) in learning style. It appears that groups which exhibit primary cultural differences

find it easier to cross cultural boundaries than those that exhibit secondary ones. Ogbu (1985) noted some of the things schools and teachers can do to overcome such difficulties:

Teachers and schools need to understand how economic and other opportunity structures affect the way minority youths perceive and respond to schooling; they should also understand how minority children's sense of social identity (as distinct from their personal identity) and their cultural frame of reference develop and influence their strategies toward schooling. At the level of practice, teachers and schools can develop programs to help these minority children learn how not to equate mastery of school culture and language with the loss of group identity and security. That is, teachers and schools can develop programs to enable the children to adopt the more pragmatic model of "accommodation without assimilation" in schooling. (p.868)

Kleinfeld (1979, p.127) stated that "the central problem in the education of minority group children is how to teach the skills needed for success in a majority culture but at the same time maintain a strong and comfortable ethnic identity". She noted that this fusion of skills transfer and maintenance of ethnic identity seldom occurs because the organization of the school or the school climate often conflicts with the cultural patterns of the minority student. She stated:

The social organization of the school is the social organization of modern life. If minority group students do not acquire competence in the language and behavior patterns of the majority culture, they may be cut off from the opportunity to attend college and professional schools. Without competence in majority culture skills, many highly paid and socially important positions will be closed to them. How to maintain native languages and cultural traditions but still improve access to economic opportunities and modern culture is a central problem in bilingual-bicultural education. (pp.128-129)

Kleinfeld proposed the creation of what she termed "cultural fusion" between the culture of the school and that of the minority group. She noted that this fusion is necessary in three critical areas of schooling: curriculum content, social relationships and value structure.

Kehoe (1984) noted the importance of curriculum innovation in the provision of an appropriate school climate. The importance of a multicultural school climate to ethnic minority students was demonstrated by a study done in New Zealand. Ramsay et al. (1982) demonstrated that schools that emphasized praise for good deeds and work and had a clearly articulated multicultural philosophy had lower levels of vandalism, truancy and anti-social behavior and a higher potential for student achievement. These schools contained teachers who modified their textbooks and altered their teaching styles to suit individual ethnic minority students. They also made every effort not to offend their students and had high academic expectations for them. On the other hand, schools which had an assimilationist policy showed the antithesis of the previously described characteristics.

The Interaction of Teachers and Minority Group Students

Saville-Troike (1978) claimed that there are cultural differences in teaching styles. Cultural attitudes and values affect teaching since educators acquire them as members of their own cultural group, learn and generally adopt those of the dominant group where it is different, and have different

attitudes and expectations toward students from different minority cultures. She also stated that, while research is sketchy, it is not at all clear that teachers from a similar cultural background to their students will teach them more effectively. She stated that it is clear that all teachers would profit from greater understanding of individual and cultural differences in learning styles, and greater tolerance for differences. She noted that categorical claims about the "best" way to teach anything to students are untrue and particularly inappropriate for bicultural education. She stated:

Cultural sensitivity and respect requires relativism and flexibility in teaching styles. Such eclecticism is nothing new as an option in pedagogy, but it is necessary, not optional, when teaching students from diverse sociocultural backgrounds. (p.9)

Potts (1972) also noted what is necessary for effective multicultural teaching:

To teach effectively one must: (1) have awareness of the meaning of the term "culture;" (2) be aware of the varied characteristics of the minority and majority cultures exhibited by his pupils; and (3) possess a reasonably accurate understanding of his own culture. The latter is essential for understanding the contrasts of one's own enrichments, limitations, and possible biases when identifying and appraising the culture-possessions of the pupil. In adjudging another person's culture, a teacher might simply compare that person's characteristics to his own without true identification or proper analysis. (p.38)

Since students bring to school different learning styles, whatever their cultural background, the educator should be aware of and use a variety of appropriate instructional methods (including visual, auditory and manipulative) whenever possible.

The assumption should never be made that there is one best way of teaching. Saville-Troike (1978) indicated that there are two primary ways in which cultural information should be taken into account:

1. The student's native culture should be accepted and accommodated to the extent possible; the teacher, indeed the whole educational system, should seek to expand and enrich the existing repertoire of teaching styles, instructional activities, and even administrative procedures to provide for the cultural diversity of students.
2. Important and useful components of the second culture should be taught; students should expand and enrich their repertoire of knowledge, skills, and behaviors, and extend their cultural competence: in short, develop positive biculturalism. (p.43)

Bennett (1981) noted that differing world views and cultural expectations affect how students and teachers interact. The greater the differences, the more likely that students' and teachers' preferred ways of communicating will differ. Where strong cultural differences exist, it is the school's responsibility to accommodate the learner's culture in order to equalize educational opportunity. Kraemer (1973) noted that our cultural conditioning is so strong that individuals who have not been exposed to other cultures simply cannot understand a communication that is based upon a different set of norms and cannot even comprehend the misunderstanding. Thus we are greatly in need of curricula that build understanding of differing cultural orientations and foster intercultural understanding.

Giles (1977) discovered in his study that teachers may deliberately ignore questions of race and ethnicity and by insisting on treating all children alike deny the existence of

real differences and difficulties arising in multicultural classrooms. Culture and ethnicity are thus often deliberately ignored by some teachers who insist on imposing the values of the dominant culture on all students.

Davidson & Lang (1960), Nash (1973), Pigeon (1970) and Rosenthal & Jacobsen (1968) have established that teachers' attitudes and expectations significantly influence the ability and achievement of students. This is even more so in the case of minority ethnic students who are often stereotyped as being different and to some extent inferior, which in turn influences teachers' attitudes and behaviors towards them (Mallick & Verma, 1982). Research by Clark (1965), Gay (1974), Leacock (1969), Rist (1970) and a United States Commission on Civil Rights (1973) has also found that teachers of minority ethnic or poor students tend to have negative attitudes toward and low expectations of their students and often fail to create the kinds of stimulating learning environments which promote mastery of the skills and abilities needed to function effectively in society. Cheyney (1976) stated that viewing children as inferior and grouping them on the basis of cultural bias in the early school setting stigmatizes them for years to come. Mallick & Verma (1982) stated that a teacher can seriously effect the performance and achievement of ethnic minority students in two main ways: by being openly prejudiced in interactions with the student; and by having low expectations of the student's abilities and achievement. Giles (1977) stated that both of these attitudes are common among British teachers and that many are condescending

towards ethnic minority students. Giles (1977) and Goldman & Taylor (1966) noted that students who are so aggrieved are usually keenly aware of the negative attitudes and develop behavioral problems and severe emotional blocks to learning.

Accumulated research has indicated that low teacher expectations for minority ethnic and poor students often become self-fulfilling prophecies (Brophy & Good, 1972; Merton, 1968; Rosenthal, 1973). The great danger for ethnic minority students is that their teachers may inadvertently contribute to the very condition that they may deplore or worse yet that they may consciously respond in a prejudiced manner. It has often been found that some teachers have definite expectations about the ability and achievement of different children, based on little or no evidence, or on evidence which the teacher thinks incorrectly to be valid for predicting individual achievement. Little & Willey (1981) noted that one of the great challenges of multicultural education is to help teachers develop positive attitudes towards cultures other than their own and to develop realistic expectations towards children's academic performance. They noted that the attitudes of some teachers range from unawareness to outright prejudice.

Banks (1983) and Kozol (1967) noted that teachers that have low academic expectations for minority ethnic students often communicate those expectations to them perpetuating low achievement levels which in turn has a negative effect on the student's self-image. Banks (1981) also noted that often minority students are counseled by those who have stereotypic and

outdated conceptions about career roles and opportunities for minority group students. Allen & Smith (1975), Brittan (1976), Rex & Tomlinson (1979) and Tomlinson (1979, 1981) noted large scale stereotyping of ethnic minority students by their teachers.

Green (1982) mapped out broad areas of differential treatment by intolerant teachers toward certain ethnic minority students. He noted that they: (1) gave significantly less time to accepting their feelings; (2) gave only minimal praise; (3) paid significantly less attention to the ideas they contributed; (4) used direct teaching of individual ethnic minority children significantly less; (5) gave them significantly more authoritative directions; and (6) gave significantly less time to ethnic minority children to initiate contributions to class discussions. Rubovits & Maehr (1973) also noted differential treatment of majority and ethnic minority students in the areas of amount of praise and patterns of attention by teachers.

It is quite clear that one of the roles of the teacher is as a conscious or unconscious facilitator of the enculturation or socialization process of children. This involves a great responsibility and careful consideration of what the consequences are for children, particularly for children that come from different socio-economic or cultural backgrounds. For example, academic success as a goal in school, has often required ethnic minority students to abandon their family, friends, and cultural heritage. Research evidence supplied by Espinoza (1971), Romano (1971), Ramirez & Castaneda (1974) and Valentine (1971) has indicated that in fact ethnic minority students who have

maintained cultural ties are more likely to succeed academically than those who have lost ties with their cultures. Educators must be enlightened as to the medium and content of what they are teaching and must learn to be sensitive to the differences between what is being taught and what the student brings to the classroom. Teaching can then become an aid rather than a hindrance to the full realization of the child's potential and can be an enriching rather than a limiting or compensatory experience.

Testing and Assessment Procedures and Minority Ethnic Students

Samuda (1984) noted that difficulties in assessment procedures related to ethnic minority students exist in three areas: test construction, test administration and testing environment and in the interpretation and use of test results. Assessment procedures and the ways in which teachers evaluate student abilities have usually had a cultural bias (Baratz & Baratz, 1970). Karier (1973, 1976), Kamin (1977), McClelland (1973), Samuda (1984) and Scarr (1977) noted that many widely used ability and achievement tests are thoroughly permeated by the ideological and cultural perspectives of their developers. The tests themselves are cultural artifacts and are not merely bent at the edges by cultural biases. He stated:

The fact still remains that IQ tests in particular are based on skills and information acquired in the middle class neighbourhood or in the school and can be diagnostic of the minority student's potential only when the educational process and the content of the test are made applicable to the student's life and learning style. (p.357)

Samuda (1984) stated that tests are developed within a cultural frame of reference and are often misapplied to individuals whose background may differ substantially from that of the norm group. Samuda noted that in Canada many large metropolitan school boards have abandoned the practice of administering IQ tests to students until they have been in the country for at least two years. The time frame and philosophy of this policy is somewhat arbitrary in that it does not account for differing rates of acculturation, the backgrounds of students that may be radically different from the Euro-Canadian mainstream, the cultural differences of aboriginal group members and culture related styles of learning, motivation, anxiety and interpersonal relationships. Gordon (1963) noted that standardized achievement tests fall in much the same category as those used to measure intelligence. That is, they are standardized for certain groups of children, primarily middle-class, but they are often applied as if valid for all cultures within the total population. LaBelle (1976), Martinez (1977), Mercer (1977) and Sedlacek & Brooks (1976) all noted that the validity and reliability of tests should be considered culture-specific. While a test may be valid for members of a particular culture, it may not measure what it purports to in another. Saville-Troike (1978) stated that cultural factors are critically relevant to all forms of student evaluation. She noted that testing is itself a social event, and students may perform differentially in differing testing situations. Evaluation instruments should never be considered culturally

neutral. However, she also noted that test scores may reasonably include those areas which students should have been expected to learn in school. She noted that the reliability of tests is affected by a number of factors: the experience students have previously had taking tests, the type of questions, the ethnicity of the tester, the modality of the test and the linguistic code utilized.

Most intelligence tests administered in the public schools are based on Anglo-conformity and a mono-ethnic model. Berry & Wilde (1972) and Berry (1974) noted that in Canada the greatest problem of cross-cultural testing is that the concepts used in the tests are adopted from an assimilationist society. They further noted that most tests involve a Western-based psychological science that attends to non-Western behavior. Platt (1975) stated that there is good reason for suspecting that tests inadvertently are not culturally fair, that they are overdependent upon reading ability, upon Western concepts and values, and upon experience with the multiple choice format. Samuda (1984) also noted that most standardized tests in Canada call for a familiarity with the multiple-choice, matching or true/false type of question.

Berry (1969) stated that where cultural discontinuities (values, goals, language, patterns of secondary motivation) are great, there is a good possibility that behavioral differences will also be great; and in such cases the development of original psychological tests is necessary if they are to be matched both conceptually and empirically to the behavior to be sampled.

Berry (1975) identified cross cultural differences in sensory-perceptual, motivational-attitudinal and sociocultural areas. He noted that these differences are particularly applicable to cross cultural testing situations. Students who have been socialized within other ethnic cultures often find the tests and other aspects of the school environment intimidating and alien. Many, as a result of performing poorly on these biased tests, have been placed in special education classes, low ability groups, or low academic tracks (Mercer, 1974). In Saskatchewan, some of the same factors may have contributed to the placement of many Indian and Native students in special education programs throughout the province. Coard (1971) claimed that many black pupils in British ESN programs had been misdiagnosed by their teachers. He further claimed that teachers not only had low expectations of minority ethnic students, but also had prejudiced and condescending attitudes that regularly characterised pupil-teacher exchanges. Samuda (1984) stated that teacher expectations can and do operate as self-fulfilling prophecies. He stated:

Test results can be employed to trap the poor and minority students in a vicious circle when, often on the basis of one set of scores, they are placed in a class of poor performers at the very start of their education. Stigmatised as "slow learners" or "trainable mentally retarded," such students are likely to perceive themselves as they are perceived by their teachers, and in behaving accordingly they reinforce their original low scores and their teachers' expectations, with the inevitable result that they fall farther and farther behind and may even end up functionally illiterate despite years of schooling.
(p.360)

King (1980) stated that, with regard to culturally competent

testing, research suggested that ethnicity influences the way in which students process information and that such patterns have implications for instruction and testing. Mercer & Lewis (1978) stated that linguistically and culturally different students should be protected from testing and assessment procedures and practises that assign them to low-ability and special education classes simply because of their low scores on biased standardized reading and achievement tests. When necessary and where possible, testing procedures should be modified in ways that are consistent with democratic ideals to reflect the various learning styles of children from different ethnic and social class groups. The point was similarly made in the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education (1978). The report stated:

Culturally valid assessment procedures should be devised and used. Many students who are socialized in different ethnic cultures perform poorly on existing tests. They are placed in low academic tracts or special classes where teachers expect and get less, including little mastery of basic skills. (p.5)

Blum (1978) noted that over the last few decades some psychologists have attempted to introduce broad culturally based tests while others have attempted what he views as the impossible task of developing culture-free or culture-fair tests. These attempts were based on what Blum claimed was the fallacious and easily refuted argument that such tests can provide valid comparisons of the ability levels of different racial and ethnic groups.

Baratz & Baratz (1970) stated that the educational problems

of lower-class or culturally different children are not so much related to inappropriate goals as they are to inadequate means for meeting those goals. They noted that educability, for culturally different children, should be defined primarily as the ability to learn new cultural patterns within the experience base and the culture with which the child is already familiar. Initial test scores of culturally different children should not be misevaluated as evidence of "educability," but should be considered as evidence of the degree to which the child is familiar with the mainstream culture both in terms of the test's content and its presentation methodology. They stated:

Education for culturally different children should not attempt to destroy functionally viable processes of the sub-culture, but rather should use these processes to teach additional cultural forms. The goals of such education should be to produce a bicultural child who is capable of functioning both in his sub-culture and in the mainstream. (pp.42-43)

They further stated that programs ought to be created that utilize the child's differences as a means of furthering his acculturation to the mainstream while maintaining his individual identity and cultural heritage.

Dent identified in Mainstreaming and the Minority Child (Jones, 1976) a number of areas related to valid assessment procedures:

1. Assessment should focus on the specific educational needs of the student rather than on inferred intellectual deficits.
2. Assessment should not involve a static, time-bound event but be an ongoing process.
3. Assessment should take into account the strengths and

assets of the student which should form the basis for the development of new skills.

4. Assessment should provide an accurate and reliable appraisal of the level of ability the student brings to the school.

5. Assessment should provide an accurate reflection of the mode of functioning the student has developed within the context of his or her cultural background.

The basic argument presented in this section is that many present tests and assessment methods for ethnic minority students are defective and present an ethnocentric bias that is detrimental to the educational attainment of culturally different students. Culture specific tests and assessment procedures that are based on sound empirical research need to be developed for use in this province. Also, educators need to be made aware of this whole issue and how it affects their teaching of culturally different children.

Socialization Practices and Learning Styles

A child's culture and language are acquired through interaction with the family in which he is born, the community he belongs to and the environment in which he lives. By the time children are ready to enter school, they have learned the behavioral rules which are considered appropriate for their role in the community and have internalized most of the basic beliefs and values of their native culture. In addition, they have established the patterns for continued socialization. They have already learned how to learn.

Saville-Troike (1978) noted that differential child-rearing practices are utilized in different cultures. Those practices

range from very strict behavioral controls to very lenient standards, by majority group standards, with little physical restraint or coercion. For example, one of the social values and practices that is common among various Indian communities is that little or no physical punishment is used in disciplining children, rather societal goals are reinforced through the use of such tactics as teasing, ridicule, fear, or by indirect example through folklore (Preston, 1975). Indirect techniques are generally used by Indians to influence child behavior.

Kehoe (1984) noted that the learning of physical tasks is often achieved through a processes of observation involving step-by-step task demonstration. He also noted that children in many Indian cultures are not expected to display knowledge in public nor to be questioned in public. The use of narratives and storytelling is common in transmitting religious and social lessons. Cazden & John (1971), Kleinfeld (1970) and Lombardi (1970) have conducted studies that suggest that because of such socialization practices the visual perception and visual memory of Indian children is higher than that of their Anglo peers. This has implications for teaching styles and instructional practices. Hertzog et al. (1968) and Siu (1972) noted the effects of traditional child-rearing practices on the learning styles of Puerto Rican children. They also emphasized the difficulties encountered by ethnic minority students due to differential socialization practices.

Saville-Troike (1978) noted the problems that may be generated when cultural differences in learning style, related to

socialization practices, occur:

It is obvious that children who learn to learn in one culture and then must learn in the modes of another must experience some confusion and dislocation in the process. They are unfamiliar with the school structure, the expectations of the teacher, and the classroom procedure. They may encounter very different values which are considered essential for learning (i.e., cleanliness, attendance, and punctuality). They may find behaviors which they have been taught to follow suddenly and inexplicably penalized or rejected (e.g., not asking questions, not attempting to do what you are not sure of being able to do successfully, being very concerned for correctness even on a timed test). All of this in addition to the communication problems they may be facing when their language is other than English and the social stress and culture shock they may be experiencing. (p.8)

Witkin & Goodenough (1977) noted that it is possible for individuals, whose socialization encouraged close social and psychological relationships to others, to retain aspects of field-dependent cognitive style and still develop through schooling alternate field-dependent styles. This enables such individuals to operate effectively in a variety of both social and nonsocial situations.

It is apparent that the socialization practices that are utilized by a particular ethnic group have an impact on the learning style the child brings to the school. In the past a child's preschool experience has often been regarded as a detriment to the learning situation of the child in the schools. An awareness of the particular cultural attributes that the child brings to the classroom should be encouraged in educators and these attributes should be valued as cultural endowments rather than as hindrances to achievement.

Summary

There exists a wide range of individual perceptual and psychological differences in students' personal learning styles. The cultural endowments a child brings to the classroom also have a profound impact on how the child learns. Evidence exists that students are better motivated, have enhanced self-images and learn and achieve more when their individual learning styles are matched with the curricular materials used, the learning environment, and the instructional and assessment methods utilized. Teaching and assessing all students as if they are the same denies them equal educational opportunity. Relativism, flexibility and cultural sensitivity are required in teaching styles and the assumption that there is one best way of teaching should be avoided.

School difficulties experienced by ethnic minority children are often related to conflicts that exist between the language and culture of the school and that of the student. In such cases it becomes the responsibility of the school to accomodate the cultural frame of reference the child brings to the school. This would involve the identification and accomodation of personal learning styles, the use of mutlicultural curricula, culture-specific assessment and reinforcement procedures and positive attitudes toward ethnicity and pluralism by all persons that have an impact on the school climate. This would also involve, where sufficient numbers warrant it, the use of the child's primary language for instruction. It must also necessarily involve the development of competence in the language and behavior patterns

of the majority culture. The school environment should be structured so that the child develops bicultural, bilingual and bicognitive abilities.

The following chart contains a list of the areas of cultural differentiation that may exist between the school and the minority ethnic child. Educators should be cognizant of these areas and the impact that differences in them may have on the education process.

Areas of Cultural Differentiation Important to the Education Process

- (1) Verbal and nonverbal communication patterns.
- (2) Preferred modes of learning.
- (3) Time orientations.
- (4) Concepts and use of space.
- (5) Use and importance of silence.
- (6) Kinesics or body movement patterns.
- (7) Social, spiritual and moral values.
- (8) Ideology or world view.
- (9) Social organization patterns.
- (10) Status relationships.
- (11) Socialization and enculturation practices.
- (12) Behavioral control mechanisms.
- (13) Personal motivation patterns.
- (14) Patterns of interpersonal relationships.
- (15) Parental attitudes toward the education process.
- (16) Emphasis on task achievement versus social harmony.
- (17) Emphasis on cooperation versus competition.
- (18) Field-dependence versus field-independence.
- (19) Mental sets such as curiosity, suspicion, enjoyment and friendliness.
- (20) Attitudes toward relaxation.
- (21) Sense of environmental and resource controls.
- (22) How achievement and success are measured.
- (23) Manner of participation in activities.
- (24) Attention given to activities.
- (25) Information processing.
- (26) Manner in which thoughts are presented to others.
- (27) The way in which the child asks questions.
- (28) The types of questions asked.
- (29) Preferences in reinforcement and praise strategies.

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CHAPTER 3

WHAT WORKS

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION

One of the strong recommendations made by researchers and theorists concerning multicultural curriculum development is that it take into account current and past research. This section attempts to provide an accurate and comprehensive analysis of what has been effective in developing new cognitions and positive attitudes toward ethnic and racial groups and in reducing prejudice toward them. This section represents a distillation of a comprehensive body of scholarly research that should assist curriculum developers in their task by making them aware of what types of programs have been effective in the past.

The basic premise behind such an endeavor is that we do live in a multicultural society which creates problems that impinge on the peaceful and productive coexistence of ethnic and racial groups. People are constantly confronted with other members of society whose language, beliefs, basic value systems, world view, and behavioural prescriptions are different from their own. Individuals may find it difficult to develop shared meanings or a clearly defined base of common assumptions from which to operate. People often find themselves disoriented, confused, and unable to relate and communicate effectively with those whose approaches to life are different from their own. This often leads to distrust, misunderstanding, or even worse, to prejudice, discrimination and conflict.

Introduction to the Problem

The racial and ethnic attitudes of young school children are of particular concern in the type of multicultural setting that exists in Saskatchewan since it is during the early formative years that the foundations of attitudes and behaviors are laid (Ayres, 1973; Harding et al., 1959; Ijaz, 1981; Jackson, 1944; Katz, 1976; Koslin et al., 1969; Lambert & Taguchi, 1956; Russell, 1956; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Since attitudes are formed early in life, Kehoe (1979) and Ijaz (1981a) both contended that multicultural programs ought to be introduced to students in the school system at an early age. They suggested kindergarten or nursery school. Multicultural curricula introduced at an early age should stress positive attitude development during these crucial formative years. Attitudes are not innate; they are acquired over time by the interaction of the individual with his or her social or informational environment (Allport, 1954; Bibby, 1960; Binding, 1963; Goodman, 1968; Harris et al., 1950; Ijaz, 1981a; Katz, 1956; Morland & Suthers, 1980; Proshansky, 1966; Schon et al., 1980; Sedlacek et al., 1973; Sherif & Cantril, 1946; Sherif & Sherif, 1953). Since attitudes are learned they can be changed with much difficulty, but to reduce prejudicial attitudes one must examine the sources and conditions from which they are generated.

Children are often hindered in their acceptance of others by the stereotyped and prejudiced opinions expressed in the words or actions of people around them. These may be reinforced by the values, norms and institutions of the society as a whole. Since

schools in Saskatchewan have done little to deliver cross-cultural or multicultural awareness and development systems, children have generally fallen victim to the negative conventions that exist and that are perpetuated in the dominant culture.

While there is a dearth of specific information regarding ethnic and racial attitudes in the country, some research was available. Berry et al. (1977) conducted a major cross-Canada survey of Canadian attitudes toward various ethnic groups. In spite of widely publicized racial incidents, the researchers found a fairly positive climate of opinion regarding members of most ethnic groups. A majority of Canadians were in favour of multiculturalism and considered it to be a part of our identity. The majority of Canadians also felt that Canada would be a better place to live if members of ethnic groups would keep their own way of life alive and that the country would not be weakened by this. Explicit racism was rejected by a majority of Canadians and respondents indicated considerable willingness to interact with immigrants. However, despite these generally positive attitudes, a number of groups were generally evaluated by Canadians negatively. The three groups evaluated the most negatively were Canadian Indians, Blacks and East Indians.

Henry (1978) examined the dynamics of individual or personal racism in the city of Toronto. According to the results of the study, 19% of the population was identified as being extremely tolerant, 30% as being inclined toward tolerance, 16% as being extremely racist and 35% as being inclined toward racism.

In Saskatchewan, Indians have been the most negatively

evaluated by others members of society. This should be taken into consideration when new curricula is developed in the province. Gibbins & Ponting (1978) found that negative stereotyping of Indians, while not the public norm in Canada, was particularly common in the prairie provinces. Hylton (1981) revealed the attitudes of respondents toward Indians in Regina. He found those attitudes to be not only negative, but more commonly held than in other areas of Canada. Davis (1968) also found a high degree of discrimination against Indians in urban centers in Saskatchewan. Indirect evidence of the negative conventions against Indians in Saskatchewan was also highlighted in a study of prejudice in authorized Saskatchewan Social Studies textbooks (Paton & Deverell, 1974). The study was commissioned by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission and was conducted in 1973. Of the nine groups examined, Indians were treated the most unfavorably. A further analysis of the ten most commonly used evaluative words associated with each group revealed that references to Indians were the most negative. Indians were characterized as being hostile, savage and warlike. It is evident from the study that authors tended to characterize Indians in a negative manner. Textbooks have a significant impact on the formation and maintenance of attitudes because of the status of authority that is conferred on them by their use in the schools. Pratt & McDiarmid (1971) and Preiswerk (1980) provided direct evidence which demonstrated that the content of materials and books can influence the attitudes of children toward themselves and others. Since they are required it is

important that they and other materials not contain prejudicial words and perspectives, and that new materials developed or utilized in the province be free of negative stereotypes.

The schools then, as a major institutional force, have a responsibility to attempt to counteract the effects of the prevailing social norms on the attitudes and behaviors of children. Johnstone (n.d.) wrote in the preface to the Halifax School Boards' Report on Integration and the Teacher:

Historically, the public schools have perpetuated, consciously or unconsciously, the ethnocentric societal attitudes of the dominant sector towards other ethnic cultural groups. Educators are now beginning to recognize, however, that unless the schools play a leading and decisive role in working toward racial harmony, providing a vehicle for the transfer of understanding, respect and tolerance, and minimizing polarization, our society will almost certainly face a challenge with which it might well be unable to cope. (p.1)

Smith (1969) has stated that the schools are the major socializing agency in our present day society. He characterized the role of the school as follows:

... we must still turn to the school if we wish to rear children who are better fitted for participation in a pluralistic democracy. (p.306)

Kehoe (1976, 1984), however, cautioned schools to be careful in implementing prejudice reduction programs. Kehoe (1976) wrote:

The issue of prejudice and what the school can do about it is a very sensitive issue. It may well be that much of our ineffectiveness in reducing prejudice can be attributed to the students viewing it as not the school's business. It also is important that we not solve problems we don't have.

There may be a reasonably high level of tolerance in your school and you should not consider it as a program objective ... It is important to be patient. If Kohlberg's developmental theories are correct, then the process of achieving respect for others is age-related. People can grow out of their ethnic prejudice if they are provided with the correct stimulating environment ... There are limits to what the school can do in this area. The school can have an effect in this area on only a proportion of the population. We are committed to informational and rationalist strategies... These cautions are set out not to encourage you to do nothing: do something, but be careful.

The key to achieving effective cross-cultural and multicultural relations may be to become functionally aware of the degree to which one's behavior is culturally determined. Armour (1979) has indicated that as people grow more aware of their own and others' assumptions and modes of behaviour, which stem from cultural heritage, they may reach a deeper level of understanding of both themselves and others. She stated:

Tolerance and acceptance usually follow understanding, even though assumptions and behaviours may be valued differently. With this increased knowledge and understanding comes greater flexibility and less need to impose one's own values and behavioural prescriptions upon others. It becomes possible for different cultural groups to coexist peacefully when people realize others are not trying to impose their value systems and mode of behaviour but only wish to practise what is important to them without interfering with the rights of others. (p.6)

It is becoming apparent that understanding the cultural dimensions of communications and human relations processes as well as differences in cognitions, values and attitudes may be critical in reducing prejudice toward minority group members and in fostering a successful transition to a genuinely pluralistic society.

An understanding of cultural relativity involves a recognition that different cultures provide different behavioral options for satisfying human needs. This understanding lays the foundation for a form of cultural literacy which is an acceptance of man as a cultural being.

This chapter focused primarily on empirical research studies related to attitudes toward minority group members, strategies for the reduction of prejudice, and programs that have attempted to develop new cognitions and positive attitudes toward minority ethnic and racial groups. The review of studies is comprehensive and represents a synthesis of research in the field.

The Nature and Theory of Attitudes

The literature on attitudes is replete with a variety of definitions. However, as Summers (1970) pointed out:

All describe the residues of past experiences which are the stuff of which attitudes are made. (p.82)

Allport (1937) defined attitude as:

A mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. (p.22)

Rokeach (1968), like Allport, also reinforced the complexity of attitudes. He stated that attitudes can be delineated into three components: cognitive, affective and behavioral. Some research evidence does support the contention that the three components of an attitude are highly interrelated. Fishbein

(1966) demonstrated that the greater the connection between an attitude object and certain beliefs about it, and the greater the affect associated with these beliefs, the greater is the affect toward the attitude object. Similarly, Rosenberg (1960) stated that:

The greater the perceived link between an attitude object and a person's values, and the more salient these values; the more affect will this person experience. (p.31)

Morgan & King (1966) stated that one must keep in mind two conceptual elements in order to understand the nature of an attitude: categories and goals. An attitude, like the behavioral response it stands for, usually tends to involve placement of the stimulus object in one category or another. A process of discrimination then takes place in that the stimulus is reacted to as though it were a member of one class of stimuli but not a member of other classes of stimuli. Further, the discrimination or categorization of the stimulus object is related to the goals of the individual. Thus, to understand attitudes, one must be cognizant of the process of categorizing things and the relation of the categories formed to a person's motives and goals.

Blanchard & Hersey (1966) concluded that behavior is a function of motives and goals. Motives being defined as needs, wants, desires and unconscious and/or conscious beliefs (attitudes) within an individual; goals are seen as outside the individual and include incentives, responsibilities and anticipated results or behavioral outcomes. Both motives and goals combine to influence behavior.

Thurstone (1939) defined attitude as:

The intensity of positive or negative affect for or against a psychological object. A psychological object being any symbol, person, phrase, slogan or idea toward which people can differ as regards to positive or negative affect. (p.41)

Asch (1969) and Campbell (1971) suggested that attitudes are perceptual sets formulated in past experience or a syndrome of response consistency toward an object.

Over the past thirty years a large number of research studies have focused on the importance that individuals place on maintaining some consistency among their attitudes, beliefs and behaviors (Festinger, 1957; Groves & Schlesinger, 1976; Osgood & Tannebaum, 1955). Research in this area led to the development of the cognitive consistency theory. Groves & Schlesinger (1976) stated that this theory assumes that firstly, people prefer to have attitudes, emotions and cognitions that are consistent with one another. Thus the individual will strive to keep conflicts and contradictions to a minimum. Secondly, if conflicts or inconsistencies do occur, the individual will attempt to reduce them.

Attitude Formation and Alteration

The research literature available on the study of attitude formation is somewhat inconclusive and findings and generalizations are often vague and contradictory. However, some attributes of attitude formation tend to emerge.

Proshansky (1966) stated that the ontogenesis of children's

attitudes must be considered to be a deeply-rooted, ongoing and exceedingly complex phenomenon. He also noted that racial prejudice can exist at an early age and that the foundations of ethnic attitudes are laid in early childhood. Children are aware of race at about three years of age and that awareness increases rapidly during the following years, and is essentially shaped by the time children enter the first grade.

Stevenson & Stewart (1958) conducted a study that was based on the perception from previous work that children as young as three or four are capable of distinguishing between physical characteristics of racial groups and that this ability increased with advancing chronological age. Three year olds had difficulty but seven year olds made the distinctions with ease. It was also noted that after the third year frequency of visual discrimination was rather consistently greater for white children. Black subjects also revealed a higher frequency of own-race rejection. Thus subjects as young as four responded in a manner which not only revealed awareness of racial differences, but also the use of stereotyped roles. Lambert & Taguchi (1956) and Harding et al. (1959) also placed the beginnings of prejudiced attitudes at the ages of three or four. Harding et al. (1959) also indicated that racial awareness in young children develops rapidly from about the age of three or four until the time the child enters first grade when his or her racial attitudes are essentially shaped. Jeffcoate (1977) pointed out that the dawning of racial awareness around the age of three is generally accompanied by or followed by signs of racial preference and rejection. He noted that even five

year olds are capable of commenting on the different social and economic roles fulfilled by different racial groups. This would tend to indicate that, to be their most effective in developing positive attitudes and cognitions toward ethnic and racial groups, multicultural programs should begin with preschool children.

Crooks (1970) investigated the effects of a preschool interracial program upon racial preference, knowledge of racial differences and racial identification. The results of the Crook's study indicated that black children who experienced an interracial preschool program showed greater own-color preference. White children in the treatment group also showed significantly greater black color preference than did the white children in the control group. Crooks concluded that the program was effective in breaking down certain established forms of behavior and in establishing new more positive ones. Crooks also determined that the sample had already established racial preferences and that some knowledge of racial differences as related to skin color had existed previously.

Ayres (1973) evaluated the effectiveness of a program that utilized discussion techniques in engendering more favorable racial attitudes in pre-school children. She operated under the premise that racial awareness as well as definite attitudes and feelings about racial identification emerge in children as early as age three. She stated that racial awareness and orientations are crystallized and integrated with age until they become full-fledged attitudes which become so ingrained that they are

difficult to modify or extinguish. The results of her program showed a significant reduction of prejudice. The findings supported the premise that kindergarten and nursery schools can foster positive racial attitudes in children of any socio-economic group through cognitive learning.

Lambert & Klineberg (1967) supported the previous premise. They stated that it is during the early formative years that the groundwork for open-minded or prejudiced attitudes are laid. These conclusions indicated that if prejudicial associations are to be modified they must be counteracted at an early age while they are still in the formative stages and when external impressions may have a deeper and more durable impact.

Harding et al. (1959) identified the commencement of prejudicial behaviors at age eight to ten. Jackson (1944) and Ijaz (1981) also supported the contention that prejudicial feelings develop early in life. Allport (1954) stated that older children were more sophisticated in awareness of racial attitudes and the social implications of these attitudes.

Russell (1956) stated that attitudes are learned reactions that vary in their permanency and that they can be weakened, strengthened or unlearned. He noted that young children tend to change their attitudes more quickly than adults because they have accumulated less experience in regard to an object or institution. Katz (1976) and Koslin et al. (1969) also supported the concept that it is during the early years of school that children's attitudes are quite malleable and that it is during these years that the foundations of strongly held later attitudes are

established.

Theorists such as Allport (1965), Deutsch (1960), Kardiner & Ousey (1957), Pettigrew (1964) and Tannenbaum (1962) have argued that the attitudes held by the majority group have a direct bearing on the self-image of minority group members because they may prevent the development of a healthy self-image in members of minority groups. Ijaz & Ijaz (1982) concurred.

Spencer (1982) concluded that cultural cognition, as measured by race awareness and knowledge of cultural stereotypes for young preoperational children, is linked developmentally to more general functioning. The relationship suggested was that, with increased awareness and conceptual differentiation, young children learn about racial stereotypes in the same manner that one acquires information about the world of objects. The study demonstrated, contrary to previous theoretical expectations, that racial stereotyping for minority group children during the preoperational period is not necessarily internalized to the affective domain or to one's personal identity. The integration of this "objectively" held information of the world with knowledge of "self" probably does not occur until the onset of concrete operational thought during the early years.

Goodman (1968) described the development of prejudice as a continuous process through childhood and identified three essential and overlapping phases. These were: awareness, orientation and true attitudes. He indicated that the awareness phase begins about the age of two and a half to three years. At this early age children begin to notice racial differences

primarily in the area of skin color. This stage is also characterized by a slight sense of white superiority. In the second orientation or recipient phase, children incorporate the learning and synthesizing of race-related words, concepts and values. The third phase was estimated as beginning at the age of seven and is characterized by the establishment of full-fledged racial attitudes.

Porter (1971) found that social class was a key factor affecting the development of racial attitudes for both black and white children. Her study indicated that there were the following relationships between socio-economic class and racial attitudes: (1) working class and lower class whites showed higher white preference than middle class whites, which indicated stronger pro-white or anti-black responses and (2) middle class blacks showed the lowest self-preference and the lower class the highest, which suggested more self-acceptance by the lower class.

Sherif & Cantril (1946) reported that parental attitudes and the adult-created environment are the premier factors in children's attitude absorption and formation. Allport (1954), Bettelheim & Janowitz (1964), Clark (1963) and Pettigrew (1969) all indicated that racist attitudes are transmitted through such socialization practises as childrearing. Sedlacek et al. (1973) indicated that parents may be the primary source of many racial attitudes expressed by their children.

Harris et al. (1950) investigated the hypothesis that authoritarian and disciplinary attitudes of parents concerning child training practises would be related to a greater incidence

of ethnic bias in children of these parents. Results of the study confirmed that children's prejudicial attitudes correlate with the complex of parental personality and attitudes that is indicative of authoritarian child handling and intolerance.

The relationship of prejudice to authoritarianism has been well documented. Adorno et al. (1950) demonstrated that rigidity, dogmatism, ethnocentrism and authoritarianism were the psychological basis of receptivity to prejudice. Saenger (1953) investigated the relationship between prejudice, authoritarianism and dogmatism. He concluded that the thinking habits of the prejudiced person went back to a specific way of thinking typical of the authoritarian personality. Adorno et al. (1950) also noted that authoritarianism, intolerance of ambiguity and conceptual and perceptual rigidity have been shown to be inversely correlated with concept formation and abstract reasoning ability. Kagan (1966) and Linton (1967) further documented that prejudice is inversely correlated with school achievement and intellectual development.

Trager & Yarrow (1952) concluded that children learn prejudices not only from the larger social environment of adult values and behavior patterns, but also from the content of the curriculum and its values. They stated that if democratic attitudes are to be learned they must be specifically taught and experienced.

Binding (1963) examined interethnic relations between Indians and non-Indians. He used two sociometric tests to ascertain the effects of age and minority group concentration on

racial self-preference. Binding discovered that young Indian children initially showed little preference for self but that changed as they grew older. The young white children, on the other hand, displayed a high level of self-preference that decreased proportionally with age. It was also pointed out that white self-preference increased as the concentration of Indian children in the classes increased. The conclusion that Binding drew was that white self-preference reflected cultural stereotypes while Indian levels of self-preference were due to rejection by whites.

Morland & Suthers (1980) found that whites consistently held a pro-white bias throughout the range of three to eighteen years of age. They also found a comparable bias among preschool blacks, but this changed to a pro-black bias, with greater agreement by age among older black students. The pro-white bias reported by Morland & Suthers and others of preschool blacks was attributed to the social structure's effects which placed whites in relatively privileged positions. The researchers related their study to the structural normative theory of racial prejudice which holds that racial prejudice is a function of the norms of a society. Prejudice is built into the culture in the form of normative precepts or notions of what "ought to be". These precepts then define the ways in which behavior is structured toward members of outgroups.

Ijaz (1980) examined the racial-ethnic attitudes of fifth- and sixth-graders in Scarborough, Ontario. He found that Indians, Blacks and Pakistani Canadians were rated the least

positively. Ijaz (1981a, 1981b) also confirmed that elementary school children in Canada tend to conform to what is perceived to be the prevailing social norm. He also stated that since the norm is not counteracted by the norms prevailing in the schools, the norms of society as a whole exert the most powerful influence in shaping the views and perceptions of children toward minority groups.

Ijaz & Ijaz (1982) stated that ethnic attitudes are shaped mainly through the socialization process. They are acquired through the straight transmission of values from adults, older siblings, peers and others around them. These attitudes may be based on the direct observation of interracial events in which members of an ethnic group are cast in a negative light, or they may develop as a result of the subtle and unconscious assimilation of the values prevailing in their social and cultural environment. However, they noted that the ethnic attitudes of youngsters are pliable to a certain extent and that they can be changed under certain circumstances.

Triandis (1976) put forward the theory of "subjective culture" as an educational approach for the reduction of interethnic prejudice and conflict. It is based on the assumption that each cultural group has a distinctive way of perceiving the man-made part of the environment. That is, the perception of rules and the group's values, norms and roles are all aspects of the subjective culture. According to Triandis (1975), intercultural conflict is largely based on a lack of understanding of each other's subjective cultures. There are

variations in the amount of differentiation that characterizes cultures. The differentiation may vary among and within modes of exchange and in the concept of time. Persons from other societies with different levels of differentiation will have difficulties communicating with each other because they are likely to make wrong "isomorphic attributions".

Triandis (1975) suggested the use of cultural programs that place a prime focus on the imparting of information regarding the nature and strength of the connections between norms, role structure and role perceptions, the expression of general intention, common self-concepts, the evaluation of certain kinds of behaviors, common differentiations among types of people within and between modes of exchange, as well as across time and space, in the other culture.

Triandis and his associates developed the "cultural assimilator", a programmed technique of cultural training in the subjective culture, which was designed to improve isomorphic attributions toward a particular group. They found that in adults such training produced not only a greater understanding of the basic value and belief systems and of the non-verbal behavior of members of the target culture, but also an improvement in intergroup relations and greater success in intergroup activities. On the basis of their findings, it was assumed that a similar kind of cultural program adapted to the level of elementary school children, might be able to bring about an improvement in interethnic relations by providing a better understanding of general norms and values prevailing in the other

culture. The Triandis theory is related to the earlier perceptions of Allport (1954), Bibby (1960) and Goodman (1968) who indicated that racial prejudice is not innate or inherent in the nature of humanity but is learned through the social fabric or culture. Allport (1954) stated:

We are now in a position to understand and appreciate a major theory of prejudice. It holds that all groups ... develop a way of living with characteristic codes and beliefs, standards, and enemies to suit their own adaptive needs. The theory holds that both gross and subtle pressures keep every individual member in line." (p.39)

Sherif & Sherif (1953) put it in a similar fashion:

Ordinarily the factors leading individuals to form attitudes of prejudice are not piecemeal. Rather, their formation is functionally related to becoming a group member - to adopting the group and its values (norms) as the main anchorage in regulating experience and behavior. (p.218)

Zimbardo (1979) defined prejudice as the learned beliefs, attitudes and values held by one person about others that : (1) are formed on the basis of incomplete information, (2) are relatively immune to contrary informational input, and (3) make a categorical assignment of individuals to certain classes or groups that are typically negatively valued. Prejudice is thus the internal state or psychological set to react in a biased way toward members of certain groups.

Kehoe (1978) summarized the research to 1976 concerning the nature of prejudice:

1. Prejudice and discrimination are not innate but are learned, usually within the family and often without conscious intent.

2. There is no reason to believe that there are inherent racial differences in temperament.
3. People typically do not realize how prejudiced they in fact are.
4. People prejudiced against one ethnic group tend to be prejudiced against others.
5. People who express antagonistic attitudes toward an ethnic group believe that the ethnic group has a large number of objectionable qualities.
6. The less experience or contact with the ethnic group in question the less strongly held is the stereotype and the less important it seems to be. Even so, stereotypes do not always arise from direct experience but rather from the general social climate in which one lives.
7. Stereotypes are quite resistant to change, although changing social and economic conditions can lead to shifts over a long period of time.
8. People not in direct competition with members of minority groups are less likely to be prejudiced toward them.
9. Conflict is more likely when the minority group has secured enough improvement in its situation to appreciate and strive for more benefits.
10. Other conditions that seem to result in prejudice include: unfavourable attitudes toward both assimilation and pluralism; rapid social change; hard times; ignorance and barriers to communication; sustaining important interests in the community; and the relative density of the minority group population.
11. Victims of prejudice respond in a wide variety of ways, including obsessive concern; denial of membership, withdrawal and passivity; clowning; strengthening in-group ties; slyness and cunning; rigid imitation of the majority; self-hate; aggression against own group; prejudice against out-groups; militancy; symbolic status striving; neuroticism.

Katz et al. (1956) also noted that various societies have different ways of perceiving and reacting to identical human phenomena. Kehoe (1978) has indicated that studies on cross cultural attitudes show that most people prefer their own kind and stereotype outsiders. Most prejudice in a culture is caused by the unquestioning acceptance of and conformity to the norms of society.

Various studies have indicated that attitudes are difficult

to change if ingrained or psychologically central or significant and long-term treatments may be necessary to alter them unless they are attacked at an early age. Parish & Lambert (1973) conducted a study to determine if negative attitudes toward Blacks and Vietnamese could be modified using a classical conditioning paradigm. The experimenters used a laboratory procedure involving paired pictures and positively evaluated adjectives. An analysis of the results indicated a significant increase in favorable evaluations of the Vietnamese only. The experimenters postulated that the results indicated that the attitudes of subjects toward Blacks were of central significance in their lives and as such attitudes toward them were too ingrained or psychologically significant to be readily modified by a single session of conditioning trials.

Schon et al. (1980) examined the effects of a special curricular study of Mexican culture on sixth grade subjects. They hypothesized that a positive improvement in the perceptions and attitudes of the subjects would result from a four week (four hour) exposure to various readings, discussions, activities and curricular study. Results of an attitude inventory indicated that attitudes declined progressively throughout the study, apparently as a consequence of greater honesty in responding. The length of the treatment and its intensity were cited as insufficient to cause changes in the subjects' ethnic attitudes and stereotypes. They concluded that because cultural and ethnic attitudes are developed over a period of years as a result of one's environment and experiences, it was simplistic to assume

that a short-term curricular package could have a positive impact on attitudes.

Litcher & Johnson (1969) investigated the effect of curricular materials which portrayed Blacks in a positive manner, contradicting prevalent stereotypes and prejudices. Results of the study indicated that multiethnic reader use in the elementary school resulted in more favorable attitudes toward Blacks. Increasing the positive visibility of ethnic groups in school curricular materials should aid in the reduction of prejudice and increase racial harmony. The experimenters noted that children in the study did not have direct contact or experiences with Blacks and as such their attitudes were not firmly rooted in direct experiences or reference group norms and attitude change was more easily accomplished.

The Litcher & Johnson study was effective partially because it focused on cultural similarities. Kehoe (1973) indicated that instructional programs that focused on cultural similarities have been found to be more successful in promoting positive interracial attitudes. Salyachivin (1972, 1973) worked with fifth- and sixth-graders in Toronto and eighth- and eleventh-graders in British Columbia. Both studies found that stressing similarities between students' own culture and that of a target culture produced more favourable attitudes toward the target culture.

Yawkey's (1973) research investigated the influences of selected multiethnic social studies literature on white children's attitudes toward black Americans. Results indicated a

significant attitude improvement in both urban and rural white children. However, Yawkey noted that the greatest change occurred in the rural school subjects. He indicated that exposure to blacks in the rural setting was limited and that there was a great deal of contact in the integrated urban elementary school. He suggested that this tended to develop only weak or simple attitudes in rural subjects but strong or highly complex and multifaceted attitudes in urban subjects that were less susceptible to change.

Jackson (1944) indicated that modification of strongly held or complex attitudes can only be accomplished by repeated or reinforced treatment extending over long time periods. Sedlacek et al. (1973) also indicated that situations involving more social distance in contact with blacks elicited more positive reactions by whites.

Another related dimension of attitudes plays an important role in one's susceptibility to attitude change - peripherality versus centrality. Watson (1966) indicated that attitudes that are most susceptible to change are those toward issues which seem remote, trivial, or peripheral to our lives while attitudes toward centrally important issues are more change resistant.

Other studies have indicated that even ingrained or psychologically significant attitudes can be altered. Ijaz (1981) concluded that it is possible to provide a program in an educational setting that suppresses or extinguishes ingrained negative attitudes toward a minority group for a long period of time.

Constans' (1982) social judgement theory relates to the assessment of why in some instances racial attitudes are more ingrained. The foundation of the social judgement theory is that an individual rarely holds an extreme position on any particular issue. Reactions to various aspects of a broad issue will involve some acceptance, some rejection and some non-commitment. Somewhere between the two extremes is a position to which an individual feels the strongest commitment or his "anchor point". A message that an individual receives that is close to his hypothesized anchor point is seen as similar to his position - even more similar than the message actually is. Conversely, a message that is divergent from the anchor point is seen as more contrasting than it is. Thus an individual will assimilate information that appears close to his anchor point and reject information that appears to be distant. Attitude change then must be incremental and can be accomplished by providing information that is close enough to an individual's anchor point to result in assimilation. The conclusions in Constans (1982) are supported in Sherif et al. (1965).

Kehoe & Echols (1980) provided an important consideration for educators in assessing the effectiveness of a multicultural program. They stated:

Knowledge and positive attitudes increase the likelihood, but do not guarantee, that a student's behavior will be consistent with his attitudes. (p.79)

Prejudice and Personality

Allport (1954), Allport & Kramer (1946) and Frenkel-Brunswik

(1948) all stated that prejudice can be largely explained as a product of personality. Allport (1954) noted that prejudice is primarily a problem of personality formation and development. He identified certain types of character or personality structures as being more prone to developing prejudicial attitudes. Allport's character structure theory stressed the importance of a secure and affectionate parental relationship in an individual's early life. He pointed out that highly prejudiced people usually lacked such a relationship. He also noted that even though group membership influences one's attitudes, it can only do so if the individual has a prior personal need or habit that gives him the propensity to be influenced. Allport concluded that man's inclination to prejudice is related to the natural tendency of individuals to form generalizations, concepts and categories that oversimplify life's experiences.

Blumer (1966) seriously questioned attempts to attribute prejudice and discrimination to personality variables. He almost completely dismissed the role of attitudes in influencing behavior. Instead he asserted that the social setting was the prime determinant of behavior.

Allport (1954) referred to the frustration or scapegoat theory of prejudice in which he stated that deprivation and frustration often lead to hostile impulses, which if not controlled are likely to be directed against ethnic minorities. He also saw prejudice as a form of aggression and defined frustration in terms of goal-response interference. He distinguished between the kind of frustration which may lead

aggression to be manifested as prejudice and the kind which stimulates an attempt to deal with the interference in a direct, problem-solving manner. He labelled the former felt frustration and the latter objective frustration. Felt frustration appears to be the inability of an individual to achieve self-set goals. Objective frustration results from an inability to achieve goals set by others such as teachers, parents, peers and the society in general.

A large number of researchers have been concerned with the impact that self-concept has on racial attitudes. Samuels (1977) indicated that it is during the first five years of life that the most rapid growth in self-concept occurs. The most important developmental task the child faces initially is grasping that he is distinct and separate from others. Piaget (1926) pointed out that the child's gradual distinction of himself is a major achievement at the sensori-motor stage of development. The child's self-concept is born at the moment when this separation-individuation process is complete. The paramount importance of the mother in the child's acquisition of the basic trust which is the cornerstone of self identity is often referred to in the literature. Mead (1956) stated that the child's self-awareness accelerates and expands as he acquires the use of language. According to Mead the connecting link between self and others is language. Samuels (1977) noted the important link between self-concept and others' perceptions:

Children can verbalize the attitudes of others toward themselves, their vocal behaviors can be observed by

themselves and other people. As children use language in many situations, a concept of "generalized other" develops ... Other's attitudes become organized and children can become their own object and think in terms of both the "I" and the "me", that is, they see themselves as others see them. (p.71)

Snygg & Combs (1949) confirmed the importance of parental concern and attention in the child's emerging self-concept. They indicated that as the child is loved or rejected, praised or punished, fails or is able to compete, he gradually comes to view himself as either important or unimportant, adequate or inadequate, handsome or ugly, honest or dishonest, or even to describe himself in terms of those around him. The increasing social contact of the school brings an extension of his environment to the child and allows him to compare himself with others and to perceive their evaluation of him.

Livesley & Bromley (1973) and Thomas (1974) have shown that, among younger British school children, physical characteristics loom large in their self-descriptions. However, as they mature, their self-reports emphasize appearance, possessions and family and friends less and give greater significance to personal beliefs, attitudes and values. By adolescence, self-reports indicate that people are very socially aware and concerned about how others perceive and evaluate them. Cohen & Manion (1983) stated that the child's development of self-identity is also connected to the process of socialisation and internalisation. This process is also culture bound. Bergen & Bergen (1975) indicated that what the child initially experiences as external

injunctions concerning behavior is internalized or taken into the child's consciousness.

A great many researchers (Bagley & Coard, 1975; Coopersmith, 1975; Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Marsh, 1970; Milner, 1973; Morland, 1966, 1969; Vaughan, 1964 and Young & Bagley, 1979) have observed that minority group members often internalize the negative stereotypes imposed upon them by majority groups. Self-hate and self-rejection tend to arise out of a lack of status, economic insecurity, social isolation, public disrespect and limited hopes for the future. All of which tend to lead to personal feelings of powerlessness, rejection and isolation. Thus in societies which accord a relatively inferior status to racial minorities, children learn from an early age what majority culture members perceive as their relative worth. Laishly (1971) and Marsh (1970) showed in two British studies that in situations where different racial groups are accorded equal status, the emergence of racial awareness in young children is not accompanied by negative self-evaluations.

A large number of American studies since 1970 (Bunton & Weissbach, 1974; Epstein et al., 1976; Fox & Jordan, 1973; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Moore, 1976 and Ward & Braun, 1972) have shown that the conclusion that minority groups are self-rejecting and have low self-concepts needs considerable qualification. These more recent studies noted a significant decline in own group rejection among minority group members. A study by Davey & Mullin (1980) also confirmed American trends toward own group acceptance.

Goldschmid (1970) noted that some research suggested that many ethnic minority students have deflated self-concepts and low opinions of their ethnic group. He indicated that much of the research he had examined indicated that attempts at self-determination by ethnic groups had not significantly changed the self-concepts and evaluations of most minority group members. Banks (1975a, p.108) indicated that "individuals who do not know, accept, and understand themselves rarely have the capacity to understand and empathize with others". Noar (1972) stated that pride in one's race and one's self is the basis of a positive self-concept, without which the student is unable to find his identity and function effectively. Coleman (1966), Coard (1971), Milner (1973, 1975) and others have indicated that self-concept is significantly related to academic achievement for "disadvantaged" as well as other students. Most of these authors related self-concept or self-esteem with a sense of personal worth. Bagley et al. (1979) and Burns (1979) indicated that self-esteem and self-concept are of crucial importance in understanding an individual's attitudes to the world around him and the people in it. Schwartz (1971) stressed the importance of the school and the curriculum in promoting self-esteem. Hamachek (1978) indicated that personal esteem or a positive self-concept and achievement were related. Wolfgang & Potvin (1973) and Wolfgang & Akoodie (1978) also indicated that students' classroom participation was related to self-concept, grades, and feelings of powerlessness.

Bhatnagar (1982) stated that the Canadian government

recognized that not only is a high level of self-esteem toward membership in one's cultural group necessary for wholesome and healthy development of the individual, it is also a prerequisite for harmonious and cooperative intergroup relations.

Tabachnik (1963) in a study of fifth graders indicated that children who were highest in prejudice also tended to be the most dissatisfied with themselves. The more prejudiced children appeared to express dissatisfaction with their inability to behave like non-prejudiced people. Results of the study also supported Allport's hypothesis that objective frustration is positively related to prejudice and felt frustration is negligibly related.

Chabassol's (1970) study was intended to provide information on ethnic attitudes of Canadian adolescents toward three minority groups and to examine the extent to which certain personality traits were related to such attitudes. Results indicated that self-rejection and the rejection of others were significant correlates of prejudice.

Rubin (1967) conducted a study to test the hypothesis that increased self-acceptance induced through sensitivity training has the effect of reducing an individual's level of ethnic prejudice. He also examined the role of an individual's level of psychological anomie in conditioning the influences of sensitivity training. Results of the study indicated that sensitivity training may be effective in increasing self-acceptance and the acceptance of others leading to a reduction of ethnic prejudice. The method appeared to be

particularly effective for those who were low in psychological anomie.

One of the purposes of a study conducted by Wieder (1954) was to investigate the relationship between personality adjustment and the modification of social attitudes. He based the study on the premise that there exists a close relationship between prejudice and certain socially-determined personality variables. He hypothesized that one could modify prejudice through the use of group techniques in a classroom situation that focused on certain personality variables. The study revealed that sociodramatic techniques contributed to a total self-development that was reflected in greater self-acceptance and increased self-insight. The findings tended to support the belief that prejudice is a symptom of a personality need syndrome which is not readily modified by factual information or exhortation.

Kehoe & Rogers (1978) and Rokeach (1973) conducted studies that attempted to achieve racial tolerance and acceptance by instilling self-insight in students. Both involved a case-study approach in which subjects were taught to make value judgements. They were then asked to participate in principle-testing discussions involving cases of prejudice and discrimination. The programs were not considered successful with elementary school children at the primary and junior levels. It was felt they would be more effective with older students.

Mussen (1950) conducted a study that examined various personality factors and prejudicial attitudes. He concluded that

an increase or decrease in prejudice following an interethnic contact situation is related to the personality structure of the individual. Subjects in the study who showed decreased prejudice exhibited the following characteristics: (1) few aggressive needs, (2) less feeling that punishment and retaliation follow the expression of aggression, (3) positive attitudes toward their parents and others in the environment, (4) satisfaction with the camp and their fellow campers and (5) feelings of acceptance of others. Those subjects who showed increased prejudice exhibited the antithesis of the listed characteristics.

Phillips (1982) discovered high correlations between authoritarianism and prejudice. Her findings supported the perception that prejudice is usually directed toward "out groups" or groups that are in a less dominant position. She identified limited ethnic experience and sharp ethnic habitat divisions as contributing to the development of egocentricity in middle childhood and preadolescent subjects.

Samples (1974) identified the nature of an authoritarian core personality in indicating that under stress an individual tends to resort to his core personality or "survival" value-prejudice. The other two core personalities were identified as dependency and intrinsic.

The authoritarian core personality, confronted by stress, tends to scurry to the safety of abstractions, group norms, and commonly accepted symbolic postures. (p.16)

Gough et al. (1950) indicated that school children who are more tolerant give evidence of being more confident and secure

and less constricted, cynical, fearful, suspicious and ethnocentric. Changes in attitudes were identified as being related to and dependent upon changes in the total personality.

Katz et al. (1956) felt that any attitude could be regarded as governed by one or more of three major motivational determinants: reward and punishment, reality-testing and ego-defense. The researchers postulated that it is probable that all three sets of motivational determinants contribute to the development of every attitude, but in differing ways. The basic assumption of the researchers was that to the extent that attitudes have different motivational foundations, they can be influenced by manipulations that focus on those roots. The two experimental approaches used were informational and interpretive. They attacked the reality-testing and ego-defense components of prejudicial attitudes. The results generally confirmed that affective attitudes are more effectively influenced by self-insight induction than through developing insights into the objective nature of the problem. They also found that people highest in ego-defensiveness are the most difficult to change through self-insight procedures.

Interethnic Contact and Attitudes

Research evidence on intergroup contact is somewhat inconclusive. Various studies indicate that close contact and ongoing social interaction between members of minority and majority groups may result in an improvement of ethnic attitudes or may prove to be counterproductive.

The question of primary concern in assessing the effects of interethnic contact is not whether it can change attitudes, but what kinds of contact and under what conditions will positive attitude change occur. Sellitz & Cook (1963) suggested that interethnic contacts tend to improve racial attitudes if some or all of the following conditions are met:

1. there is an opportunity to relate to one another as individuals,
2. interacting individuals must have more or less equal status,
3. they share common interests and are similar in other characteristics such as occupation or age,
4. the social norms favor intergroup associations,
5. the situation is cooperative rather than competitive or conflicting in nature, and
6. the presence or activities of both groups either enhances or does not detract from the achievement of the individual's goals.

Allport (1954) identified the following principles for contact between ethnic groups:

1. Interethnic contact produces changes in attitudes between the groups involved;
2. The direction of attitude change depends on the contact situation. If it is favorable it tends to reduce prejudice and if unfavorable to increase it and group tensions;
3. Interethnic contact may intensify initial individual attitudes and the intensity of the initial attitude may exert a decisive influence on the results of the contact;
4. Attitude change limited to a specific situation or aspect of the attitude may not generalize to other situations or aspects;
5. Natural intergroup contact is likely to take place under unfavorable conditions and thus to have little effect on prejudice reduction;
6. The favorable conditions which tend to reduce prejudice are when: (a) interacting individuals have more or less equal status, (b) intergroup contacts are pleasant and rewarding and not negative, (c) both groups' members interact in interdependent activities or share common or superordinate goals that are of greater importance than the individual group's goals, (d) persons and/or institutions of

authority or the general social climate give support to and promote interethnic contact, (e) the contacts are of an intimate or personal rather than a casual nature, and (f) the contact is between members of a majority group and higher status minority group members;

7. The unfavorable conditions which tend to increase or reinforce prejudice are when: (a) group members or the entire group are frustrated due to such factors as economic depression, recent failure or defeat and aspects of inadequate personality structure, (b) the status or prestige of one group is adversely affected by the contact situation, (c) competition is produced by the contact situation, (d) when the contact is involuntary, full of tension, or unpleasant, (e) moral standards of the groups differ to such an extent as to be objectionable, and (f) the minority group is lower in status or any relevant characteristic than the majority group.

Allport (1954) developed the following list of sociocultural conditions which may precipitate and solidify prejudice:

1. rapid social change,
2. expanding minority group concentrations,
3. ease of vertical mobility,
4. exploitive advantage over minorities,
5. population heterogeneity,
6. ignorance and communication barriers,
7. realistic conflict and direct competition,
8. limited social regulation of aggression,
9. cultural devices that sustain hostility, and
10. unfavorable attitudes toward cultural pluralism and assimilation.

Sachdeva (1973) and Koslin et al. (1969) examined the effects of contact on interpersonal racial attitudes in desegregated schools. Both studies noted an improvement in attitudes. In Sachdeva it was postulated that this was due to the support of the institution, administration, teachers and community elders and that the situation was a pleasant one for the children who liked their teachers and made new friends.

Slavin & Madden (1979) determined what practises in

desegregated schools tended to improve racial attitudes and behaviors. The study found positive effects on race relations due to students working in cooperative groups, sports teams and classroom work groups. The findings in Slavin & Madden supported a long-held idea in social psychology that interaction at an interpersonal level, particularly if it is cooperative in nature and between individuals of equal status, is the key to improved race relations (Allport, 1954 and Amir, 1969).

Sedlacek et al. (1973) and Sedlacek & Brooks (1967) found indications that the more remote from intimate or personal interaction white students were from blacks or the greater the social distance in contact the more positive their reactions were to them.

Amir (1969) and Mussen (1950) stated that certain personality types would not be affected positively by interracial contact. Mussen stated it in the following manner:

intimate contact with Negroes per se does not insure a decrease in prejudice. Certain children are not susceptible to the equalitarian philosophy which this kind of intimate contact encourages. Whether or not a child will change his attitudes toward Negroes seems to be related to his personality structure and to certain factors in the social situation in which intimate contact occurs. (p.438)

Weigel et al. (1975) assessed the effects of cooperative interethnic contact on ethnic attitudes and relations. They concluded that interracial learning teams do tend to develop positive attitudes given the caveat that members experience success in the endeavors undertaken. This conclusion was supported in Gimmestad & DeChiaro (1982). Ijaz (1981), after

examining sixth graders in Scarborough, Ontario, noted that where majority group members had been given the occasion to identify with minority groups through contact and experiences with and in the target culture, these opportunities had tended to engender more positive intergroup attitudes.

Berg & Wolleat (1973) suggested that, in order for interethnic contacts to succeed in attitude improvement, cooperative experiences have to be systematically developed that promote problem-solving in concert.

Anderson (1969) examined attitude and knowledge change in fourth graders in Calgary, Alberta, after a limited exposure to Indian children. The treatment involved close contacts between the subjects in small work, lunch, play and tour groups. The results indicated a positive enhancement of white children's attitudes and an increase in the knowledge they had about Indians. Hubert (1969) conducted a similar study but in an integrated urban elementary school in Calgary, Alberta. Interethnic contacts were also limited. Results of the study indicated that the contact experience improved the non-Indian children's knowledge about the Sarcee Indians, but the contact did not favorably influence or significantly alter the non-Indians' attitudes. The attitudes toward the Sarcee children were characterized as subtle prejudice with no instances of open intolerance or harsh treatment. A major exception to this trend was observed. If an Indian child demonstrated adeptness in any phase of physical education, the child became popular with the non-Indian children.

Abu-Laban (1965) studied racial relations in an integrated high school in Edmonton, Alberta, where Indian students comprised seven percent of the school population. He concluded that mutually favorable attitudes existed between the Indians and non-Indians. This was attributed to the small size of the contact minority group.

Hylton (1981) studied the attitudes of the general public toward Indians and Indian issues in Regina, Saskatchewan. The results indicated that many survey respondents held negative attitudes toward Indians. He concluded that those individuals who held negative stereotypes tended to be those who came into contact with the Indian community in a negative context. He also determined that attitudes toward Indians in Regina appeared to be more negative and widespread than in other areas of Canada. Hylton correlated expressed attitudes and the characteristics of respondents. It indicated that attitudes were more positive for respondents in a number of categories which included: more education, higher incomes, better jobs and greater age.

Enriched Curricula and Prejudice Reduction

This section deals with the relative effectiveness of information transfer in the reduction of prejudice. Gimmestad & DeChiara (1982) stated the case as follows:

One shortcoming of many prejudice reduction programs in schools is their assumption that by increasing students' knowledge about other groups, they will eliminate any misconceptions or false stereotypes these students may hold about those groups. Although knowledge can contribute to prejudice reduction, it will not reduce prejudice by itself.

Programs that focus on the cognitive dimension, such as those that impart information about ethnic groups, do not necessarily change students' affective and behavioral dimensions of prejudice. (p.45)

The assumption has been held that the educational process will change one's attitudes. Stember (1961, p.171) noted this assumption when he stated that education is viewed as, "liberation - a process of freeing people from narrowness and provincialism". Stember did not find a clear relationship between degree of prejudice and the amount of education. The Stember study reinforced the concept that the relationship between prejudice reduction and the amount of information an individual received is complex, involving numerous intervening variables including both the political and social climate. He concluded the following about the effects of education on prejudice:

It would appear that the impact of education is limited. Its chief effect is to reduce traditional provincialism - to counteract the notion that members of minorities are strange creatures with exotic ways, and to diminish fear of casual personal contact. (p.171)

Allport (1954) found that individuals can hold unfavorable attitudes toward a group even though their knowledge of or beliefs toward a group are factually correct. Harding et al. (1959) claimed that there is an equivalence between the amount of information assimilated and the number of correct beliefs held. Bibby (1960) believed that prejudice is not quickly removed by factual evidence, but that it can aid in making the attitudes

toward a group more favorable.

A number of studies examined the effects that information had on attitude improvement. Hayes & Conklin (1953) noted little effect on the ethnic attitudes of eighth grade students as a result of academic instruction about prejudice. McNeil (1960), in a similar study with high school seniors, noted an increase in prejudice. Robertson (1979) dealt with the effects of reading literature from an enriched social studies curriculum on children's racial attitudes. Results indicated significantly improved attitudes were fostered including attitudes toward North American Indians. Litcher & Johnson (1969) used basal readers which portrayed Negroes in a positive manner contradicting prevalent stereotypes and prejudices. Results indicated a dramatic improvement in children's attitudes toward the target group. Kersey et al. (1983) undertook a study to determine the effects of a Native American studies course on eighth grade students' attitudes. The course consisted of a workbook, textbook, a media package containing videotape interviews, and slide/tape lecture modules. The course was identified as a frame-of-reference approach in which greater emphasis was placed on Indian interpretations of events as opposed to the more conventional Anglo-European perspective. Results of this study were inconsistent, some attitudes were positive while others were negative. Kehoe & Ungerleider (1979) determined that merely reading and asking and answering questions about a novel, in which subjects were required to exchange roles with people in the novel, had no significant effect on changing people's attitudes.

Kehoe (n.d.) indicated in his Guidelines for Developing a Multicultural Curriculum that many programs developed in Canada had emphasized the presentation of information about other cultures. However, he noted that the commonly held assumption that imparting information will lead to tolerance is unwarranted. Katz (1955) found that information about Jews decreased anti-Semitism only when this information was linked with a direct discussion about anti-Semitism.

Dent (1975), Fisher (1965) and Yawkey & Blackwell (1974) used information and discussion to reduce prejudice. Dent found that he was able to reduce prejudice in only those subjects who were initially classified as low in prejudice. He speculated that this was due to several factors. The first was that highly prejudiced subjects were more involved in rehearsals that allowed them to characterize victims of prejudice in negative ways which served to reinforce or increase their prejudice levels. The other factors were short treatment length and the nature of the curriculum content. Fisher examined the difference between reading alone and reading coupled with discussion on the attitudes of fifth graders toward American Indians. Results indicated a significant attitude change for the reading-discussion group and a lesser non-significant attitude improvement in the reading only group. Yawkey and Blackwell's study determined that reading and discussing selected multiethnic Social Studies materials had a positive impact on students' attitudes with or without the addition of field trips.

Gimmestad & DeChiara (1982) attempted to ascertain the

effectiveness of reading dramatic plays along with post-play activities involving small interracial groups in prejudice reduction. The researchers concluded that the technique involving ethnically heterogeneous work groups was effective in developing positive attitudes toward minority groups.

Lee (1978), Moodie et al. (1973), Pecararo (1970) and Singh & Yancey (1974) all used a variety of instructional resources and techniques in attempting to alter racial attitudes. Lee used a fifteen-week course on the cultural heritage and contemporary status of black Americans. The program consisted of a combination of lectures, human relations films, discussions, trips, outside speakers and group work that stressed both the cognitive and affective levels. Results indicated a significant improvement in attitudes. In conclusion Lee stated:

Some educators, psychologists, and sociologists recommend a curricular approach to change racist attitudes. Curricular approaches which are cognitive or factual often fail. It appears that a course of study which includes both the cognitive and affective levels of learning may be more effective in causing attitudinal change, fostering behavioral growth, and improving race relations. (p.8)

Moodie et al. used an experimental anthropology program to reduce ethnocentrism, break down stereotypes and help students examine other cultures more objectively. None of the improvements registered were significant, but half of the respondents in the posttest session indicated that they had developed more tolerant and respectful attitudes toward persons of other races. Pecararo tested the effect of a series of special lessons about Indian

history and culture upon the attitudes of Indian and non-Indian students. The lessons were conducted over a one year period and utilized selected commercial materials, sound films, and slide presentations. Results indicated a significant positive improvement in both Indian and non-Indian subjects. Pecararo also noted that the Indian children in the study displayed enhanced self-images. Singh & Yancey used an intensive multi-factor program to diminish negative racial attitudes. The program used biographical data, discussions, readings of realistic fiction, filmstrips, movies, multiethnic basal readers and art activities. It was effective in reducing negative racial attitudes.

Williams (1961) used geography lessons that emphasized details of everyday life, current problems and international aid given to West-African blacks. His results demonstrated a significant improvement in attitudes, particularly from the subgroup that initially harbored the most negative attitudes.

Houser (1978), Kehoe & Rogers (1978), Mitnich & McGinnies (1958) and Weisgerber et al. (1972) all used film in their studies. In Houser, subjects demonstrated a significant improvement in racial attitudes after exposure to a single film. Kehoe and Rogers investigated the relative effectiveness of principle-testing discussion on attitude improvement and the interaction of those discussions with subjects' level of moral development. Results of the study provided equivocal support for the principle-testing methodology as a means for the reduction of prejudice. Mitnich & McGinnies examined the effects of

discussion participation and ethnocentric attitudes on the level and stability of learning and attitude change in response to a film. Both the film-discussion and film-alone groups showed significantly less ethnocentrism. Ethnocentric predisposition did not greatly affect the extent of attitude change induced by the film. A month later the film alone group showed a significant attitude decay, but both the active and passive members of the discussion groups had largely retained their attitude gains. Those individuals who were low in initial ethnocentrism learned and retained more from the film than those high in ethnocentrism. The passive participants in the discussions learned less than the active subjects. The researchers also concluded that the extent of discussion participation depended on the amount of learning that had taken place. Weisgerber et al. attempted to influence the self-image of American Indian children using the film medium. Subjects became more self-critical after exposure to the treatment. The researchers concluded that the degeneration in self-image may have been the result of more candid self-evaluation due to the emphasis on openness and frankness in the self-appraisals that took place during the film discussions. The researchers recommended that such activities be only introductory in nature to be followed by activities which are positively reinforcing and incremental in nature. Kraus (1960) and Elrod (1968) found the use of movies to be ineffective in prejudice reduction with high school students.

Berg & Wolleat (1973) compared the effects of instructional

materials and direct cultural contact. Results indicated that the information group registered relatively more positive attitudes toward other cultures than did the contact group. The researchers identified the unstructured nature of the contact experience as explaining this tendency. The more positive orientation of the information group suggested that an internalization of the project's major goals and objectives had occurred. Those were a cognizance of the value that other people place on their lifestyle, the development of a non-ethnocentric perspective of culture and the ability to evaluate the circumstances of other cultures from the systematic incorporation of informational components with an attitudinal dimension such as role-playing and comparative studies combined with elements of cooperative interaction may produce a successful program.

Innovative Strategies and Attitude Change

Kelman (1958) advanced a theory of attitude change that provided a unified method for explaining the degree of persistence that an induced attitude change would have. He delineated three processes of attitude change: compliance - induced by extraneous reward and punishment, identification - taking the role of others, and internalization - incorporating the ideational content of the attitude.

Kelman's study lent considerable support to the theoretical framework he put forward. He suggested it as a useful conceptual tool in the analysis of the effects of various communications and other forms of social influence on attitudes and actions, the

study of the social influences affecting decision-making processes and for the analysis of existing attitudes and their motivational bases.

In Kelman's study opinion change was evaluated under conditions of surveillance and salience, nonsurveillance and salience and nonsurveillance and nonsalience. Kelman demonstrated that subjects only showed an opinion change under conditions of salience and surveillance after being given a treatment designed to favor compliance. This suggested no underlying attitude change. Subjects on the other hand who were given an internalization treatment did indicate opinion change on all three posttest situations.

Watts & McGuire (1964) found a strong positive relationship between induced opinion change and recall of the contents of a persuasive message after one week of treatment, but over a six week period the opinion change became functionally autonomous of recall of at least some of the contents of the inducing message.

Transik & Driskill (1977) examined the persistence of changes in racial attitudes via a required training course. They hypothesized that an initial attitude change developed on the basis of compliance would progressively decline after the course instructor's surveillance was discontinued. The treatment was experiential in nature and heavily discussion oriented and ego-involved. At the end of the twenty-week course a small positive change in attitudes was observed. This attitude change subsequently decayed over a twelve to thirteen week period. Four to five weeks after the training session a "sleeper effect"

seemed to emerge and subjects recorded a short-term but significant positive attitude change which also then decayed. The researchers then postulated that the sleeper effect was caused by initial resistance to the manipulating message which was viewed as propagandistic by the subjects. During the course of the first few weeks after the training sessions, the source of the message was forgotten but the attitudinal effects were retained. The researchers concluded that peer reinforcement for behavior consistent with the changed attitudes must occur if they are to be retained for any length of time.

Kleg (1971) reported that cognitive knowledge influences racial attitudes, but as the newly acquired knowledge is forgotten attitudes revert to their original positions. Kleg suggested that attitudes and knowledge are in constant interaction and that delayed posttesting should be a part of any research that deals with this area.

Warren & Adler (1977) identified four models of intercultural training: the practical-functional, the cognitive-didactic, the affective-personal and the experiential approach. The authors advocated the experiential approach as the most useful and eclectic for instruction in intercultural communication. Simulation games and experiential exercises were identified as having distinct advantages over academic instruction.

Bredemeir et al. (1982) and DeKock (1969) used simulation games as effective instructional techniques in the reduction of dogmatism, ethnocentrism and racial prejudice.

Role playing has also been found to be a successful strategy for the reduction of prejudice. Breckheimer & Nelson (1976) had subjects act out causes of discrimination and ways of promoting better interracial co-operation. Results of the program were positive. Gray & Ashmore (1975) had subjects read brief descriptions of three newspaper articles documenting the suffering of a minority group. Subjects were then asked to write an essay in favour of strong private and public efforts to create opportunities for minorities. Their program was also effective. Ijaz & Ijaz (1982) stated that role playing is essentially a vicarious experience approach. They noted the important consideration that role playing addresses a person's attitudes at a rational and emotional level. They stated:

Vicarious identification with a person of another culture in a situation typical to that culture may represent a highly sensitive means of apprehending differential social and moral norms and behavioural patterns. The effective acting out of the role of a person from another culture, in an environment particular to that culture, requires not only role-reasoning skill, but also empathy for that person's feelings and thoughts in the given situation, and determining appropriate actions based on these perceptions. In other words, role playing addresses a person's attitudes, not only through rational channels, but also through emotional and affective channels. (p.14)

They also stated that role playing provides students not only with an opportunity to learn about another culture, but also to learn why people do things differently and to appreciate the values inherent in these ways.

Festinger (1957) outlined a theory of cognitive dissonance as a method for producing attitude change. According to the

theory, any kind of cognitive inconsistency is uncomfortable and the individual will attempt to avoid or reduce dissonance by changing his behavior or cognitions or to circumspect exposure to new information. The theory as outlined by Festinger involves a number of important variables. They are the discrepancy and importance of the cognitive elements and the subject's volition and commitment. The maximum amount of dissonance occurs when the discrepancy is large, the elements are important, and when the subject has been free to exercise his free will and is committed to the outcome of his behavior. Festinger (1964) made the point that attitude change will decay unless the individual's environment is supportive of the behavioral change that accompanied the attitude change.

Steiner (1980) evaluated the efficacy of cognitive dissonance as a theoretical basis for producing changes in school-related attitudes. Steiner postulated that when subjects with negative attitudes toward a referent knowingly and voluntarily advocated a circumstance and procedure that was antithetical to their personal views, a state of dissonance would be created. Subsequently the subjects would attempt to reduce the inferred state of dissonance by altering their attitudes to become more positive toward the treatment referent. Results of the study, while offering only limited support for cognitive dissonance theory, did support the idea that more positive attitudes toward a referent can be induced by having the subjects engage in conduct that simulates positive behaviors.

Watts (1967) used a similar format, but had subjects

improvise and write an argument advocating an attitudinal position (active participation) compared to reading a persuasive message (passive participation) that argued in favor of the same attitudinal position. He also examined the effects of each of the above induction techniques upon subjects' involvement and memory and the relationship that memory and involvement had on the temporal persistence of opinion change.

Results indicated that opinion change was initially induced by both treatments, but that subjects in the active participation group showed greater persistence of the induced opinion after six weeks. They also showed a " sleeper effect " in which their attitudes became more favorable. The passive group regressed to control levels. Recall rates also paralleled the attitude changes with those in the active participation group remembering significantly more. Subjects changed their attitudes and sought out other cognitions or data consonant with their newly acquired opinions in attempting consistency with their advocated position. Behaviors noted supported Festinger's observation that subjects seek consonant and avoid dissonant information.

Katz (1973, 1976) investigated the relative efficacy of stimulus-predifferentiation training in the reduction of prejudicial attitudes. The theoretical rationale underlying the two studies was the supposition that perceptual categorization of racial groups is a prerequisite for ensuring attitude development and that prejudiced children perceive the faces of another race as more similar than do children with more tolerant attitudes. If the differentiation of racial stimuli could be increased

through perceptual and linguistic training it should be more difficult for a child to maintain negative attitudes. Both studies showed that stimulus or perceptual differentiation techniques were effective in reducing prejudice levels.

Wieder (1954) compared traditional lecture-discussion methods with such group therapy procedures as sociodrama and nondirective methods of instruction. He found the latter to be more effective.

Leslie et al. (1972) appraised the effect of self-study and focused peer influence on the racial attitudes of sixth graders. The experimenters found that both methods were effective in reducing levels of prejudice. However, they also concluded that:

... the net effect of curricular and material enrichment, interracial experience and teaching about blacks, does not appear to outweigh the advantages of peer influence as a mode for improving racial attitudes. (p.66)

Ijaz (1981a, 1981b) studied the ethnic attitudes of subjects in Scarborough, Ontario. His study provided evidence that a cultural program could alter ingrained negative attitudes toward a minority group. After finding highly negative attitudes toward blacks and East Indians, he designed and implemented a cultural program based on the theory of subjective culture as expounded by Traindis (1976).

Ijaz suggested that educational activities that had as their primary focus the development of knowledge about the nature of prejudice or other ethnic groups were largely abortive in bringing about positive attitude change. Ijaz's program was

experiential in nature and had a strong component of role playing. The learning involved all aspects of the subjects' personalities - rational, affective, emotional and physical. Ijaz's program was effective because it represented an emotionally intensive experience in multicultural living.

Results of the study detected significantly improved attitudes toward the target culture in all subjects regardless of sex, age, grade, ethnicity and percentage of minority group members in the schools. Target culture members' attitudes toward themselves also improved. Finally, and perhaps the most significant of the program's findings, the effects were retained for at least three months after the program's completion.

Smith (1977) stated:

A truly pluralistic society where all peoples of the world would be viewed and appreciated for being different, for contributing, and for being equal is not reserved for the millenium. It is an achievable goal with this generation. The challenge lies in bringing it about or causing it to happen. (p.40)

Ijaz (1981a, 1981b) claimed that his program was effective because it stressed cultural similarities. Kehoe & Hood (1979) also implemented a successful eleven-week program in British Columbia that produced positive attitude change by emphasizing similarities. The fifth- and sixth-grade subjects viewed films and took part in activities that involved discussions, singing, painting, and role playing.

Newcomb (1950) stated that an emphasis on intercultural similarities encourages positive interethnic attitudes because

the perception of similarity is likely to produce associations of goodness and acceptability while being different is often associated with being bad. These associations appear to be derived from a need for psychological balance and consistency. Rosch et al. (1976) noted that the human conceptual system tends to perceive contrasts as being more salient than similarities. Ijaz & Ijaz (1981, 1982) stated that cross-cultural comparisons that tend to focus on differences more than similarities often unintentionally foster prejudice rather than tolerance and acceptance. Differences are believed to create dissonance and are therefore associated with badness.

Harding et al. (1959), in reviewing studies of the effects of specific educational measures to reduce prejudice concluded that significant positive changes are recorded in subjects about twice as often as no change. The specific educational measures referred to were measures that emphasized similarities and harmoniousness between cultures.

Melenchuk (1987) investigated the effects of a cross cultural training program on the attitudes of eighth graders toward Prairie Indians. The program primarily utilized experiential activities and subsequent debriefing discussions with experimental subjects. Empirical evidence provided by the study indicated that prejudice was reduced in subjects by the utilization of a combination of communication skills development, self-insight induction and cross cultural training. Melenchuk claimed that the effective implementation of such a program lies in the ability of a sustained program to reach the emotional or

affective roots of students' prejudicial attitudes. The program, rather than concentrating on similarities, stressed the uniqueness of the individual in explaining both individual and cross cultural differences.

Reich & Purboo (1973) have shown that knowledge and understanding do not necessarily reduce prejudice. To develop desirable attitudes an individual must combine knowledge of the norms and values of the target culture with the acknowledgement that these are as important as one's own culture.

Kehoe (1980) set out several guidelines for developing effective multicultural programs. They were:

1. Emphasize cultural similarities rather than exotic and bizarre differences.
2. Emphasize positive achievements rather than hardships and persecution.
3. Don't emphasize the material poverty of a region.
4. Information should be presented from an insider's point of view - using the "we" rather than the "they".
5. Allow students to examine the harm ethnocentrism and stereotyping has on its victims.
6. Emphasize family life and everyday activities.

Ijaz (1982) also found that successful programs that reduced prejudice had four common characteristics:

1. Cultural similarities were stressed rather than differences.
2. They utilized student participation rather than formal lecturing.
3. Students were immersed in the roles of people in other cultures so that they experienced at an affective level their situation rather than merely experiencing the other group at a cognitive level.
4. The fact that different is not synonymous with bad was emphasized.

Ziegler (1981) listed a number of concrete steps which can be taken to reduce prejudice and maximize the potential of multiculturalism in the classroom:

1. The incorporation of information about various groups in the curriculum, particularly information that stresses the achievements and contributions of ethnic people.
2. Emphasize cross cultural similarities.
3. Maximize student participation and minimize lectures.
4. Utilize group discussion and role playing exercises.
5. Seat students in class so that they remain mixed and utilize mixed groups to complete assigned tasks.
6. Bring information about local ethnic activities and institutions into the classroom, and invite guests into discuss them.
7. Make regular assessments of student progress toward prejudice reduction.

Das & Nanda (1963) confirmed that not only could attitudes be acquired, but they could be transferred by verbal conditioned responses.

Summary and Conclusions

Attitudes appear to have three essential facets: a cognitive, an affective and a behavioral dimension. An individual's attitudes are closely linked with past experiences and involve a natural mental and neural process of categorization in which stimuli from the environment are discerned and placed in a discrete category or class of stimuli. Over time an individual builds up a perceptual set of categories and then reacts to a particular stimuli as though it were a member of one class of stimuli. In addition, the categorization of a stimulus object is related to the motives and goals of an individual which influence behavior.

Individuals tend to maintain some degree of consistency among their attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. Generally, people prefer to have attitudes, emotions and cognitions that are consistent with one another and strive to keep conflicts and contradictions to a minimum.

Developmental theorists and reasearchers have indicated that the first six years of life are particularly important in the development of all social attitudes, racial attitudes included. Research indicates that there is a continuum of development beginning with racial awareness and culminating in entrenched racial attitudes and behavior patterns.

There are strong indications that insecure, rigid, aggressive and authoritarian personality types are more prone to developing prejudicial attitudes and that such personality formation is influenced by parents with similar personality characteristics. Child-rearing practises that provide a secure and loving early life are linked to the development of more self-accepting, secure and democratic individuals who tend to be low in fearfulness, suspicion, aggressive tendencies and ethnocentrism. Indications also exist that promoting greater personal self-acceptance through self-insight induction techniques leads to a greater acceptance of others and less prejudice. Improving children's level of self-esteem also has the effect of producing more tolerant individuals.

Interethnic contact in itself does not insure the development of positive interracial attitudes and the reduction of discriminatory behaviors. It can lead to such if the

situation of contact is controlled for certain variables.

Curricular approaches and information delivery systems that operate under the assumption that increased knowledge about a minority group will reduce or eliminate prejudicial attitudes toward that group have been shown to be largely ineffectual unless accompanied by other supportive techniques. Programs that focus on both cognitive and affective dimensions of learning appear to be more effective in developing behavioral growth and in fostering improved interracial attitudes. Those that emphasized not only factual, but also affective learning and the emotional climate between races appeared to involve the subjects more directly and actively with group discussions and interpersonal interactions. They concentrated on creating an atmosphere of racial understanding and self-respect and utilized prejudice reduction curricula which emphasized experiential activities.

Methods which assist in knowledge retention also tend to reinforce changed attitudes. Attitudes can be acquired, but they can also be transferred. However, in order for changed attitudes to persist they should be internalized and have peer and environmental support that is consistent with the changed attitudes.

Positive attitudes can be developed by a variety of techniques that include: experiential exercises, simulation games, sociodrama, role-playing, positive behavior simulation, active involvement in directed racial discussions, induced states of cognitive dissonance, improving subjects' sense of self-

esteem, human relations and communication skills development, emotional identification with minority group members, self-insight induction, non-directive methods of instruction, using heterogeneous and cooperative work and play groups, and increasing the positive visibility of ethnic groups in school curricular materials.

Based on the studies reviewed, there appears to be a number of confounding variables which impact on the effects of race relations and multicultural programs. They include: the age of the subjects, the personality of the subjects and their parents, early child rearing practices, the nature of the interethnic contacts, the duration of length of the instructional package, the inclusion or omission of affective and cognitive components in the instructional program, the socio-economic status of the subjects and the nature of the support climate surrounding the individual.

The studies reviewed indicate that prejudice is not inevitable and that it can be lessened and even prevented through effective educational measures in our schools. One of the most important means of achieving a truly multicultural environment for our students is the development of effective curricular strategies that incorporate what research has identified. However, one must also keep in mind that the school's efforts must also be reinforced by similar efforts in other sectors.

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